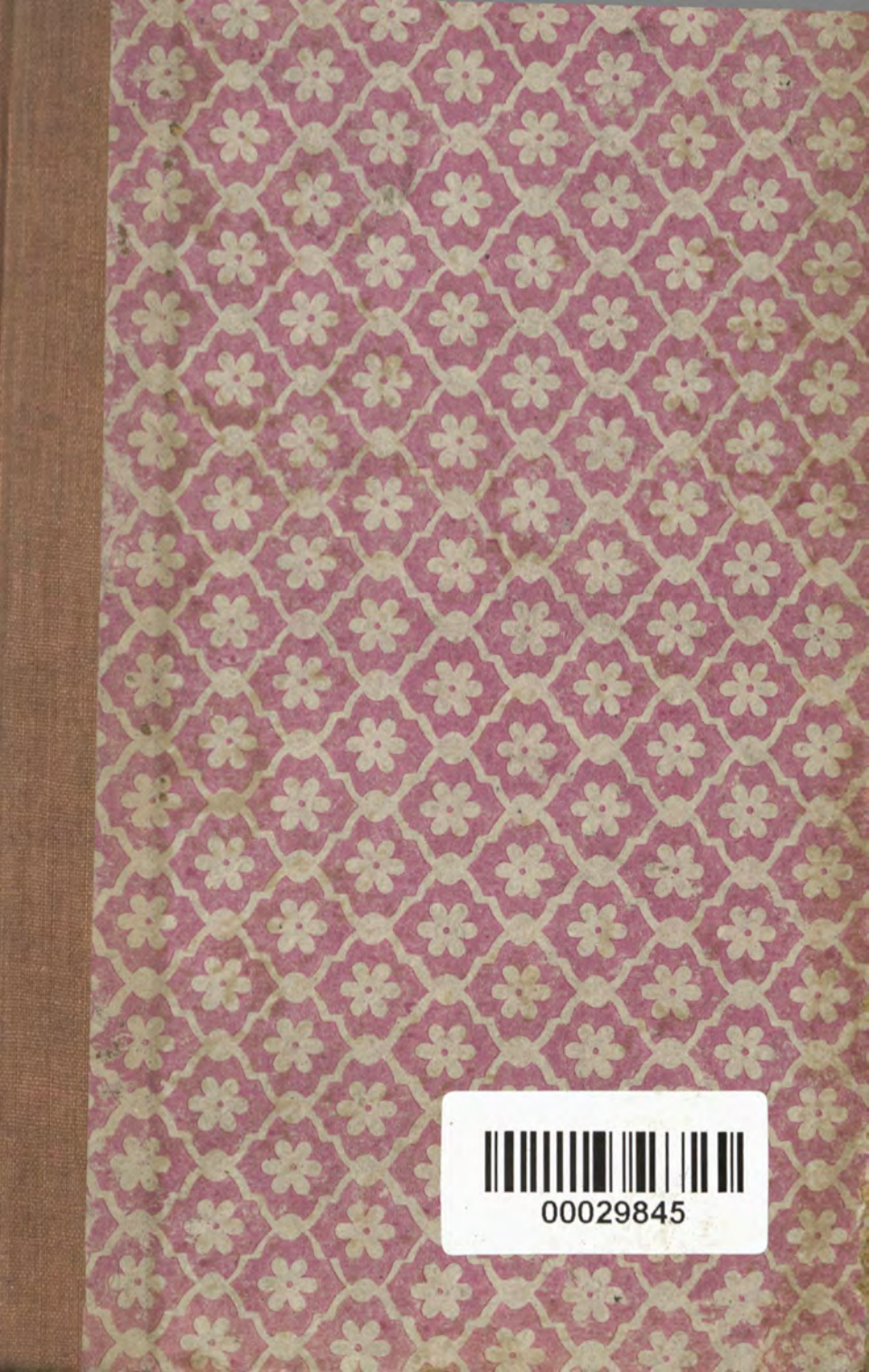
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JOURNAL OF THE REIGN

OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD,

FROM THE YEAR 1771 TO 1783.

BY HORACE WALPOLE.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

"For 'tis a chronicle of day by day."—SHAKSPEARE, *Tempest*.

"On prévoioit que la patrie allait être sacrifiée à la dignité de la famille royale, dont la véritable gloire est de se sacrifier toujours au bonheur de la patrie."—VIE DE MAINTENON, tom. v., page 18.

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY DR. DORAN,

AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER,' ETC.

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JOURNAL OF THE REIGN

OF

GEORGE THE THIRD.

1776.

JANUARY.

THE year began with mighty preparations for carrying on the war in America with vigour. Lord George Sackville Germaine, who had been brought into power for that end, was indefatigable in laying plans for raising and hiring troops, in sending supplies and recruits, and more naval force. Sixteen thousand Hessians were obtained, some Brunswickers, and a few other German troops, and a demand was made from the Dutch, of the Scotch in their service, which met with opposition in that country, but was granted at last. Every effort was used in these islands to raise soldiers and sailors, with but indifferent success, and not at all in proportion to the extraordinary premiums given to particular favourites who offered or were invited to raise them, as will be mentioned. Some of the Guards offered to go, and one thousand were selected from the three regiments, but so little to the satisfaction of several, that fifteen officers threw up or desired leave to sell their commissions. Lord Mansfield, Wedderburn, and the

Scotch sounded high Lord George's spirit; and nothing was talked of but conquering America *in one campaign;* whilst indeed the more sober part of the Ministers, who saw the wildness and profusion of the expense, were apprehensive that, if the business could not be effected in that time, the Administration would be blown up, finding themselves at a dead stand. Lord G. Germaine, who had always treated Lord Chatham's magnificent plans as visions of a madman, who dictated impracticable measures and left the Treasury to find the means, now seemed to have taken that daring and inconsiderate Minister for his own pattern, chalking out, dictating the measures, and leaving the whole burthen of supplies on the shoulders of Lord North, whom at the same time, without reserve in his most public conversations, he spoke of as a trifling and supine Minister. Lord North had all the air of subscribing to that character, and augmented his natural and jocose levity, as if his coadjutor had rendered the office of Prime Minister a sinecure. Still the difference of their characters kept up a sort of division or ambiguity in the conduct of Government; Lord North still retaining an affected propensity to peace, Lord George pronouncing authoritatively for decision and exaction of full submission from the colonies: an inconsistent language which broke out from both in every parliamentary debate, though, however dictatorial Lord George was in the Cabinet, he had recovered so little spirit, was so afraid of inviting personal reflections, or was so cowed by his conscious unpopularity, that he nowhere appeared the Minister so little as in the House of Commons, and never shone there with so little lustre.

Lord Mansfield, more Minister than either of those Lords, to shroud his own poltroonery, and the Scotch and

the Bedfords to prevent being sacrificed by the King's irresolution, had buoyed up his Majesty with such visions of empire and despotism, that he breathed nothing but war, and was equally childish and indiscreet in professing his sentiments, and in flattering all who concurred with his sentiments. When he reviewed the Guards in March on Wimbledon Common, previous to their embarking for America, he condescended to do what he had not even done at the great naval review at Portsmouth,—he pulled off his hat when he took leave of the Guards, not doubting but they would cheerfully lay down their lives for so gracious a Monarch, who had uncovered his sacred head to salute them!

The Opposition seemed to have lost all spirit as unaccountably as the Administration had acquired some by the accession of Lord George Germaine; and on their side had gained none by the Duke of Grafton's desertion to them. Indeed it brought them nor sense, nor activity, nor harmony, nor six votes. Lord Rockingham and the Duke were no sooner allies again than rivals. Lord Camden, who had seduced the Duke, intended him for First Minister, which, though Lord Rockingham was content to be at the head of his own faction though out of place, he was not ready to cede even in that powerless situation. At an early meeting of the Opposition this session, Lord Rockingham summoned the Bishop of Peterborough as a new dependant, which offended the Duke of Grafton. The Marquis excused himself on the indecency of inviting the Duke before he was out of place. Lord Shelburne, who had his own personal views on the first place, was more tractable, and concerted with either; more readily with the Duke, as a former limb of Lord Chatham's Administration, to whom Lord Shelburne still avowed implicit

allegiance, though equally unfitted, by his depression, for power or Opposition. What little life there was existed in the Duke of Richmond and Charles Fox. The latter bustled, tried to animate both the Duke and Marquis, conferred with Lord Shelburne, but abandoned neither his gaming nor rakish life. He was seldom in bed before five in the morning, nor out of it before two at noon. The Duke of Richmond I tried early in the winter to fire with industry. I painted to him all the miscarriages of the campaign, and the inability of the Ministers; and gave him a long list of hostile motions which I wished him to make of complaints and grievances; but his health was bad, and his spirits; he distrusted his own abilities, though his eloquence improved daily; he loved his country pleasures, and he was disheartened by repeated defeats. Nay, though nobody more severe when he did take a part, his candour disliked great hostilities. I said, "My Lord, when the Ministers stick at nothing, is it right to your country to let them manage everything?" But his delicacy could not brook any violent measures; and while the Court thought and represented him as the soul of faction, he was incapable of transgressing the most minute article of strict honour. In truth all the motions I gave him were provoked and crying; but he frankly confessed he would not attack Ministers on any measures, such as grants and pensions, with which he had not found fault when he had formerly acted with the Court. I own this, and owe to his character to do it justice, though perhaps to my own dispraise. But I who had seen every injustice heaped on my father by Jacobitism and faction, and who now saw the ruin of the country pursued by Jacobite principles, did wish to turn every art of party that was allowable, on such guilty men. I had less delicacy than the Duke, and thought it meritorious to

expose to clamour and public hatred such Machiavels as Lord Mansfield, "qui sobrius ad evertendam Rempublicam accessit." Lord North was a pliant tool, without system or principle; Lord George Germaine of desperate ambition and character; Wedderburn a thorough knave; Lord Sandwich a more profligate knave; Lord Gower a villain capable of any crime; Elliot, Jenkinson, Cornwall, mutes that would have fixed the bowstring round the throat of the Constitution. The subordinate crew to name is to stigmatize; they were Dr. Johnson, the pilloried Shebbeare, Sir John Dalrymple, and Macpherson! The pious though unconscientious Lord Dartmouth had been laid aside, after bequeathing to Administration his hypocritic secretaries Wesley and Madan; Lord Barrington remained to lie officially; Lord Weymouth had acceded with all his insensibility to honour, and by acceding had given new edge to Thurlow, who was fit to execute whatever was to be done. Almost every Scot was ready to put his sickle to the harvest, and every Jacobite country gentleman exulted in the prospect of reversing on the Whigs and Dissenters all their disappointments since the Revolution; and they saw a prince of the House of Brunswick ready to atone for all the negative hurt his family had done to their ancestors, and for all the good his ancestors and the benefactor of his family, King William, had done to Great Britain. There was still another body ready to profit by the restoration of Stuart views—the bishops and clergy. How deeply and joyfully they waded into a civil war on the Constitution and on Dissenters, let their votes, addresses, and zeal for the war declare! This is a heavy picture; but if any of the individuals mentioned above, or any of the denominations of men, come out whiter in the eyes of impartial posterity, let this page be registered as a page of the blackest calumny!

Thus however were all the blunders, violent and absurd measures of the two last years, and the disgraces and inactivity of the last campaign, suffered almost to pass without a note from Opposition. The latter had foretold and had expected that a sudden decrease of American trade would long ere this have driven the merchants and manufacturers to despair. No such thing had happened. The merchants, by what art or manœuvre I know not, or by what hopes of peace, had been kept quiet; the stocks, by the wealth of the nation, by no diminution of trade,[1] by the difficulty of employing money elsewhere, and by great address, and by connivance with the Bank, had been astonishingly kept up. The cessation of the Turkish war and the pacification of Poland had revived trade; and the discreet and ostentatious payment of their debts by the Americans, to ingratiate themselves with the trading part of the nation, together with remittances of the fortunes of those who fled from America on the commencement of the troubles, had concurred, with the general spirit of dissipation and thoughtlessness, to make the American war not yet felt or even perceived at home. The superior activity of Administration in calumniating patriots as self-interested incendiaries of the war, had disheartened and alarmed the decent and conscientious friends of Lord Rockingham; and indeed the sword was now so thoroughly drawn, the Parliament was so totally corrupt and lost to shame, and the greater part of the nation so blinded, that perhaps the Opposition could hardly do better than lie quiet till some calamity opened the eyes of the public. For my own part, I can scarce lament the war. Had the King and Lord Mansfield, who dreaded tumults and insur-

[1] It was thought that France and Holland took off many of our manufactures to sell them to our colonies.

rections at home, and who knew they were in no danger from mobs across the Atlantic, had courage to invade liberty at home, they might have done their business almost at one stroke. By driving all America to resistance, they have made it very doubtful whether they will carry one point. If America gets the better, it will be independent, or will not return to us without effectuating by stipulation, or by the consequences of our ill success, a total change of Administration, and a blow to despotism. If Britain prevails, it cannot be but by ruining the towns and trade of America, and by wasting the King's fleet, armies, and treasure, his best means of despotism. If a middle way, an ignominious treaty, ensues, what disgrace to the Crown, and what a damp to its farther innovations! No case can happen in which, if the King prevails, he will not be a far less potent monarch than before the war. These kingdoms are more likely to grow shocked at so ignominious a reign (compared with its glorious commencement); and few princes that grow despised augment their power. How too shall we have wasted our treasure and armies, instead of diminishing our debt! France and Spain, says the Court, give solemn assurances of neutrality, and dislike the precedent of rebellious colonies—perhaps both is true. The more they promise, the more they are to be suspected. Will they spare promises which will encourage us to be undone? If a civil war will not dispel our delusion, a French or Spanish war, or both,[2] will tear the bandage from the eyes that wink most obstinately. Then will our absolute Monarch know the difference between the constitutional glory of such a King as his grandfather, and that of a despotic Sovereign, who has revolted and laid waste his

[2] Both a French and a Spanish war did happen, but did not open all eyes!

colonies, and impoverished and exhausted his subjects at home.

The year began with a remarkable snow and frost that lasted a month. Lord George Germaine, who had complained to the King of the Ministers so frequently quitting the town to amuse themselves at their country houses, going to his own house at Stonelands, was shut up there by the snow.

The two Houses of Parliament met after the recess of the holidays, the Lords on January the 23rd, and the Commons on the 25th, but nothing was done or moved by Ministers but the ordinary business, and by Opposition nothing at all.

FEBRUARY.

MONSIEUR le Comte de Guines, Ambassador from France, was suddenly recalled. It was said that Monsieur Turgot, the Comptroller-General, having sent a confidential person hither to inquire into the nature of our raising money, and into the affairs of our East India Company (which our embarrassments in America could not but make France see a prospect of undermining, if not of invading our vast possessions in the East), and that person having been too coldly received by De Guines, had, on his return, complained to Turgot, who had sent the Count a severe reprimand, to which he had replied haughtily, urging that his quality of Ambassador ought to exempt him from so humiliating a rebuke, and that Turgot, having laid the letter before his master, the King had instantly sent for him away in anger. This was probably true, for when at last M. de Guines obtained an audience, after long soliciting it, and asked if he had offended his Majesty, and what was the reason of his sudden recall, he could obtain no answer from the King, but "l'Ambassade étoit finie." The King, too, coloured when he first saw him, as if the act were his own; and when De Guines asked Monsieur de Vergennes the cause, he replied, "C'est le secret du Roi."

Whatever precipitated this fall of De Guines, he had not even been encouraged to expect his embassy would be protracted; his three years were expired, and he had extorted his last return hither as a vindication of his

honour. He was involved in a most afflicting suit against his own secretary, one Tort, who, having suddenly decamped on ill-success in stockjobbing, had accused his master of having employed him in that unseemly practice on that account. Most of the foreign Ministers here, except the Prince of Masserano, the Spanish Ambassador, followed that dirty trade. The cause of M. de Guines suffered extremely by his pretending to have burnt Tort's first letter from Paris. Count Welderen, the Dutch Minister, told me that the letter was not burnt, but that M. de Guines, out of most good-natured delicacy and honour, would not produce it even for his own justification, and to his great prejudice, because in it Tort had mentioned another of the foreign Ministers as concerned in that traffic, which would have ruined him at his own Court.

The Ambassador had as warmly prosecuted Tort, who was openly supported by English bankers whom he had drawn into his misfortunes, assuring them he was warranted by his master, who would communicate the secrets of his embassy to them; and it did seem an exculpation of the Count that he had lost by the transaction, which was not credible, being master of the secret of pacification on Falkland's Island. Tort had still a more formidable though clandestine protector in the Duc d'Aiguillon, who to ruin De Guines, the creature of the Duc de Choiseul, had been guilty of scandalous injustice to the Ambassador.[1] The cause had been heard the last winter; and by as strange a judgment as that against Admiral Byng, the

[1] M. de Guines forcing the Duc d'Aiguillon to print their correspondence, it appeared by two letters that on the affair of Falkland's Island the English Court had offered to disarm first. The Duke of Richmond had before this publication taxed our Ministers in the House of Lords with this national indignity, and Lord Rochford had denied it upon his honour. Here it now appeared irrefragably.

sentence, though in favour of M. de Guines, was by no means severe against Tort, who was either a complete rascal (as he certainly in his memorials had been unprecedentedly insolent and provoking to the Ambassador), or De Guines was the most unjust and blackest of men. The latter had indeed carried his cause but by one voice, which the Queen had obtained for him at eleven o'clock at night. That Princess, instructed by her mother, the Empress-Queen, was eager to restore the Duc de Choiseul to the management of affairs, in gratitude for and to enforce the Family Compact which he had made, as well as her daughter's marriage with Louis XVI., and the Queen of France took all occasions of showing favour to Choiseul and his adherents—a little indiscreetly, for she obtained permission for the Duke to appear at Versailles and Paris; and boasting of it to show her power, old Maurepas, who had the chief credit, and who knew the King's jealousy of being governed, revealed the Queen's triumph; and to exclude Choiseul for ever, insinuated to his Majesty that the Duc de Choiseul had poisoned the Dauphin his father. The Comte de Maurepas had learned this calumniating art by his own experience; when he was banished for affronting Madame de Pompadour, to assure his never returning to Court, she persuaded Louis Quinze that M. de Maurepas had poisoned one of the King's former mistresses, the Duchess de Châteauroux.

Tort had appealed to the Parliament, and the cause was to be reheard; but though so essential to De Guines to watch the suit and his enemies, the excessive partiality he had experienced both from the Court and the nobility here had tempted him to press his return hither. He had wasted immense sums here in treats and balls, was gallant, acceptable to the women. He was so popular with the

fine ladies, that they formed several extravagant plans for showing their concern for his recall. One was to write to the Queen of France to intercede in his favour; another, to wear black ribands for him, and to make a procession from the Ladies' Club to take leave of him. It ended in many going with their husbands to leave at his door their names on printed cards,[2] expressing their sorrow for his recall. It was suspected that they went farther, for the day he took leave at St. James's a posse of Irish chairmen assembled round his coach, would have taken off the horses, and insisted on drawing him home, as the City mobs had done for Wilkes; but the Ambassador had the prudence not to consent. De Guines was also liked by the King, who had hated the arrogance of his predeccessor Du Châtelet, and the contemptuous coldness of his wife. The Duc d'Aiguillon, it is true, was fallen and disgraced; but Maurepas and Turgot were not less jealous of Choiseul, and could not be partial to so devoted an adherent of his as De Guines was. Public reasons augmented their private animosity. De Guines, a civil, complaisant, and showy man, was no genius. In our posture with America he was neither active enough to procure the best intelligence, nor enough ill-disposed to England to represent our difficulties in the strongest light. Should France be inclined, while she lulled us asleep by taking no open part for the Colonies, to take advantage of our difficulties by extorting concessions from our weakness, De Guines, so espoused and adopted here, was more likely to soften any harsh message than deliver it in its crude terms. It was

[2] The custom of visiting by cards had been recently adopted in France by persons of fashion. It was at first laughed at by the more punctilious people as at once a lazy and an impudent habit,—but the mode prevailed. I think it is the Baroness d'Oberkirch who records in her Memoirs, that, when a person left a card at a friend's house, such a visit was called a "visite en blanc."—D.

said that he had received many hints from his Court that they wished to recall him, but, as if persisting in staying had been sufficient to keep him here, he had shut his eyes to his situation, and received the blow with as much despair as if he had had no reason to expect it. Our Court chose to be as wilfully blind, though no notice had been taken to Lord Stormont, our Ambassador at Paris, of the recall of De Guines; nor would they apprehend any sinister designs from that quarter, though no successor was named, and though Garnier, the Chargé d'Affaires, a known enemy of De Guines, and much more able, was ordered to hire a house, which did not imply the sudden arrival of any Ambassador. The Court of France had even invited Monsieur Francès to return hither; but he, attached to Monsieur du Châtelet, and formerly to Choiseul, was suspected of being so little favourable to M. de Guines in his suit with Tort, having been still here at the time of the latter's transactions, that he excused himself from accepting the employment. Francès, a man of middling birth, was exceedingly shrewd, and perhaps better acquainted with this country than any Frenchman living. Before his appearance as Du Châtelet's confidential secretary, he had privately, obscurely, and unknown, resided here three years in the City, and by that time had made himself perfectly master of our language and affairs. Still did not these unpromising appearances startle Lord Mansfield? No. He was determined the house of Brunswick should throw itself like the house of Stuart on the generosity of the Bourbons, and purchase countenance to the schemes of enslaving England by the sacrifice of England's honour and interests. France was so gracious as not to thwart his views, when they held out to her the ruin of our trade, credit, and marine.

3rd. Lord Howe was appointed Chief Admiral in America, and had been designed for sole Commissioner for Peace; but the Court had now no thoughts of treating with the Americans, whom it was determined to subdue by force. It had been for some time uncertain whether Lord Howe would accept either command—nay, whether he would not resign all his employments.

Admiral Keppel, the friend and legatee of Admiral Saunders, carried the latter's red riband to the King. His Majesty, as great a flatterer as any of his own flatterers, kept Keppel, though in Opposition, long in the closet, yet said not a word of so meritorious a hero as Saunders, who had died in Opposition. Keppel, provoked, said at last, "Your Majesty has lost a most brave and loyal subject." The King, with great quickness, answered, "I do not miss him while I have a Keppel." Keppel himself, offended at the promotion of Palliser, one of the youngest Admirals, reproached Lord Sandwich, by letters, with the preference, in very unmeasured terms; but Sandwich was not a man to encounter a rough seaman. It will be seen here afterwards how Sandwich and Palliser returned Keppel's objections.

On the death of Sir Charles Saunders, at the end of the preceding year, Lord Sandwich slightly asked Lord North whether he had any objection to Admiral Palliser succeeding Sir Charles as Lieutenant-General of the Marines. Lord North, forgetting that he had promised Lord Howe should succeed Saunders, replied, "No." Lord Sandwich, who loved expedition, and cunning more, carried Palliser immediately to kiss the King's hand. Lord Howe, disappointed and affronted, came to town, and, meeting Lord North in the House of Commons, told him he should wait on the King the next day. "On what account?" asked

Lord North. "To resign all my employments, on your Lordship's breaking your promise to me of the Marines," said Lord Howe; "and I flatter myself my brother the General (at Boston) will resign too, when he hears how I have been used." Lord North, in a great fright, pleaded that his mind was so occupied by America that he had forgotten his promise, and besought the angry Lord to defer his purpose. Lord George Germaine joined them, and they did prevail: that is, Lord Howe suspended his resentment for six weeks, waiting to be pacified by some more lucrative offer. Lord North tempted Admiral Forbes, General of the Marines, to resign that post to Lord Howe, in consideration of a pension of 2000*l.* a-year; but Forbes was stout, and at last the naval command in America was given as a compensation to Lord Howe, at the expense of Admiral Shuldham, another friend and favourite of Lord Sandwich, who was thus punished for his dexterous industry. Lord Howe, like all the Howes, was intrepidity itself. His parts were below moderate; his interestedness notorious by this and his ingratitude to Lord Chatham.

If the King in the prosecution of the civil war met with brave and zealous servants, they took care to be well paid for their loyalty. General Burgoyne had left Boston, not much to his credit nor to the satisfaction of the Court, when, by the departure of General Clinton with a detachment for the southern colonies, Boston was left so ill-officered by men of experience, that, had General Howe died or been killed, the command must have devolved on the raw Lord Percy.[3] Burgoyne, on his arrival, had been very communicative of complaints, even to Charles Fox

[3] Eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland.

and the Opposition, for Burgoyne knew the Ministers, and probably the Opposition too; for had the latter had any activity, they would have questioned him in Parliament before the Court had had time to buy off his affected dissatisfaction. But before there was a single question started in the House of Commons, Burgoyne's rank and pay were raised, fifteen men added to each company of his regiment (all to his profit), and four cornetcies given to him to sell; besides an extraordinary promotion for his wife's nephew, Mr. Stanley,[4] which was stopped by the Secretary at War's[5] partiality to Captain Stanhope, Lady Harrington's son, over whose head Stanley would have stepped. After these favours, nobody more reserved than General Burgoyne on any mention of America in Parliament. In April he sailed for Quebec.

There arrived from Boston another commander, whom the Administration had loudly threatened to treat in a very different manner; to whom, if not equally bounteous, they behaved at least as mildly, and about whom the soporific Opposition were as silent as the Ministers could wish. This was Admiral Greaves: he had borne insults ill-suiting the spirit of a military man. He had been recalled with ignominy, and the Ministers had menaced to make a second Admiral Byng of him, that is, a sacrifice to palliate their own inactivity. But finding how little either the nation or the Opposition clamoured on so disgraceful a campaign, they did not choose to open any sores, and not a word of complaint was uttered to or of Greaves. He to his friends lamented his situation and disgrace, declared he had asked what were his crimes, and affirmed that he had not only orders in writing to

[4] And brother of the Earl of Derby, nephew of Lady Charlotte Burgoyne.

[5] Lord Barrington, attached to Lady Harrington.

justify all he had done, but had previously on his own judgment executed many actions for which he had afterwards received orders. However, as he was not clamorous on his disgrace, nor asked for a trial, he was either conscious of something blameworthy, or hoped to be indemnified like Howe and Burgoyne General Gage was here in the same equivocal situation. Posterity will scarce believe such a lethargy; but the facts I have related may be ascertained both by what was done and what was not done. London was sunk in pleasure and dissipation, and governed by Scotch emissaries. Macpherson, the Ossianite, had a pension of 600*l.* a-year from the Court, to supervise the newspapers, and prevent the publication of truth or satire. The Opposition was incapable, inactive, and borne down by the torrent. The manufacturers had not yet suffered by loss of trade as the friends of America had foretold and expected. The country was governed by Tory country gentlemen, and they by the clergy; and the Government concealed news, and suffered no advices from America to transpire, so that as yet the war was neither felt nor thought of.

On the *5th* came an account of the Duchess of Gloucester being delivered at Rome of a prince who was christened by the name of William-Frederick, the Duke and Duchess of Saxe Gotha, and the Margrave of Anspach, all then at Rome, being sponsors.[6] The appearance

[6] This prince, who was born at Rome, January 15, 1776, was christened by the Rev. Mr. Salter. He succeeded his father in 1805. He was a good, amiable, and honest man, but it was too much the fashion to ridicule him because his intellect was not as strong as his virtues. He served creditably in Flanders. Parliament made him a settlement of 14,000*l.* a year, and he lived under his income. His marriage in 1816 with the Princess Mary, youngest daughter of George III., who died in 1857, was the result of a long and mutual attachment. It procured for him the title of "Royal" instead of "Serene" Highness; but he stipulated that neither the marriage nor the title should influence his politics. He was charitable with, as well as careful of, his money, and he left his widow, on his death at Bagshot in 1834, a dowry of 90,000*l.* He was buried in

of these princes was fortunate and creditable; their presence silenced the malice of the Court; and the King, who probably disliked his mother's nephew lending himself as godfather, had drawn this mortification on himself by having on the death of the Princess of Wales withdrawn the pension she paid to the Court of Saxe Gotha. I have mentioned in the former year that the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester had left England the last autumn, for the Duke's health, from the distress of his finances, and worn out by the persecutions of the Court, which had been carried so far, that officers from other regiments were continually preferred to those in the Duke's own. When Lord Rochford, before they set out, asked the Duke whither he was going, he replied with equal sense, spirit, and severity, "To Rome, my Lord, the only place[7] where the Pretender and I can live." In France they were received with the most distinguished honours by order of that Court; the King himself invited them to Versailles, which the Duke, out of decency to his brother, declined. At Metz, where the troops were reviewed for them, M. de Castries, the commanding officer, asking the Duchess who were Knights of the Garter, and she naming Lord North, he said, "Pourquoi l'a-t-il, lui? est-ce pour avoir perdu l'Amérique?" The Duke of Wirtemberg and the senate of Venice paid them no less respect. The Pope was as full of attentions, and borrowed a palace for them; but before they arrived at Rome the Duke was at the point of death at Padua with his old complaint; and the Duchess, with child, exhausted by the fatigue of travelling and by sitting up to watch him, was near accompanying

his military uniform, and wearing on his finger a ring which had been an early love-gift to him from the Princess whom he married.—D.

[7] The Duke could not go to any other capital, as the King's Ambassadors were not allowed to pay their duty to him.

him, but, thank God! both recovered. The young prince, as the Duchess wrote to me, was not so promising a child as the Princess Sophia; "but, considering what I suffered for four months," said the Duchess, "I wonder he is any child at all."

About this time accounts came from New York that overturned the triumphs which the Ministers and the Scotch had so ridiculously coined for Lord Dunmore. The Virginians had entirely demolished his diminutive army, and obliged him to take refuge on board a man-of-war off the town of Norfolk. It was the more disgraceful to the Earl, as he had sacrificed the men of a very brave regiment (General Keppel's) in an unequal engagement with a much superior force, and had not risked his own person.

On the 8*th* the stocks fell on the report of a French fleet assembled at Toulon; but it was without foundation.

15*th*. The Opposition opened the Parliamentary campaign with a motion from Thomas Townshend jun., which he had promised before Christmas. It was for a committee to inquire into the insult offered to the English House of Commons, by the message to that of Ireland, in which, without any authority from the former, the Government engaged England should pay for whatever troops Ireland should demand in lieu of those to be drawn thence for the American service. Lord North denied that any such message had been sent hence; but Lord George Germaine, who despised Sir John Blaquiere, and did not love Lord Harcourt,[8] and was not unwilling to censure whatever had been done before he came into power, did

[8] Lord Harcourt had refused to let three regiments go from Ireland, and had threatened to resign if they were taken thence.

not spare the Irish Ministers; at the same time marking his ardour of pursuing the war at any rate, for he declared that it was worth while to pay for 8000 men, rather than not get 4000. The motion was rejected by 224 to 106.

At this moment, when the Court feared, and everybody expected to hear, that Quebec had fallen into the hands of the Provincials, advice was received from Boston, carried thither by two deserters, that the town having been stormed, and on the point of being taken, General Montgomery had been killed, and the Provincial army beaten off. Colonel Arnold was said to be taken prisoner; but the river St. Lawrence being frozen, no certain account could be obtained for many weeks; though, by all that could be collected from other quarters, the death of Montgomery was generally believed. The safety of Quebec raised the spirits of the Court greatly. The plan of Lord George Germaine had uniformly been to pour an army from Quebec on the back of the colonies; and he had resumed that purpose with all his activity, the Hessians being immediately destined to that service; and an attempt meditated against the southern colonies, under General Clinton, was now diverted to the succour of Quebec, and General Burgoyne, instead of returning to Boston, was ordered to take the command of that force and endeavour to lead it to Quebec. Still, so little was the Court assured of the miscarriage before, and so ridiculous had they been made by the falsities they had published in favour of Lord Dunmore, that they did not venture to mention the defeat and death of Montgomery at Quebec. They did not even do justice to the defence made by General Carleton; and Lord George Germaine, who hated him as one who, by his friendship with the Duke of Richmond, and by his own firmness, he concluded

or knew, was not favourable to his Lordship on the affair of Minden, took this very moment to put a signal affront on the Commander at Quebec. Carleton, in his last letters thence, had begged that, if his Majesty approved of his services there, he would appoint his brother Major Carleton his Quartermaster-General. The latter had cited his brother's recommendation to Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, who had obtained the King's consent, and had acquainted Carleton with his promotion. Yet Lord George Germaine ravished this honour from him, and insisted on its being conferred on one Christie, an obscure Scot, offering Major Carleton the post of Adjutant-General. This the Major sturdily rejected—yet set off to join his brother; but at the King's levee, when he kissed hands on his departure, and the King asked him when he should set out, he replied audibly, "To-morrow, Sir; and I go the most injured of your Majesty's subjects."

20*th.* Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen having resigned the office of Chamberlain of the City of London, Wilkes, who had long eyed that post with ambition, presented himself as candidate for it. His enemies, both at Court and in the City, supported one Hopkins against him; and Wilkes, too confident of his popularity—now grown a little obsolete—neglecting to push his solicitations with vigour, lost it, both on the poll and on a scrutiny that he demanded; yet, as it is an annual office, though the incumbent seldom laid aside, he declared he would stand for it again at Midsummer.

On the 20th Charles Fox made a motion in the House of Commons for inquiring into the ill-success of the King's arms in America, and laid open all the boasts, blunders, and disgraces of the Administration; as Barré did, still more severely, with much irony on Lord George

Germaine, whom he called *the Pitt* of the day. Lord Ossory[9] and Richard Fitzpatrick, nephews of Earl Gower, but intimately connected with Charles Fox,[1] both spoke well in Opposition for the first time; Lord Mulgrave[2] as warmly for all the measures he had used to condemn. Lord Clare moved the previous question, and, after a debate[3] that lasted till three in the morning, the motion was rejected by 240 to 104. Adam, a Scot, spoke and voted with the minority.

At the end of the month was published a pamphlet that made a great sensation. It was called 'An Essay on Civil Liberty,' and was written by Dr. Price,[4] a Dissenter, strongly connected with Lord Shelburne. It was a defence of the Americans, and maintained the improbability of subduing them. But the part that hurt Administration was the alarm it gave to the proprietors of the funds by laying open the danger to which they were exposed by the ruinous measures of the Court. I think this was the first publication on that side that made any

[9] John Fitzpatrick, second Earl of Upper Ossory.

[1] Stephen Fox, Lord Holland, elder brother of Charles, had married Lady Mary, daughter of the Earl of Upper Ossory.

[2] Phipps, second Lord Mulgrave.

[3] See a good account of this debate in the London Chronicle of Feb. 24, 1776.

[4] If there be any readers of the present day who are acquainted with Mrs. Chapour, they will remember in her *Miscellanies* a certain "Simplicius,"—the original of which was Dr. Price. This eminent Dissenter began life by dividing the small fortune which he inherited from his father, a Welsh minister, between his sisters, and raised a fortune to himself by his ability and industry. He was perhaps the author of more pamphlets than any writer yet known. They were on every subject, moral, social, political, religious, philosophical; and there was scarcely one that did not exhibit high qualities rarely found in such productions. The pamphlet mentioned in the text was the one by which he acquired the greatest reputation, and very various honours. In two years it went through eight editions, and gave rise to very virulent controversy. Pitt's plan for reducing the national debt *is* said to have been one of three submitted to him by Dr. Price. The extreme satisfaction with which the latter greeted the French revolution brought down upon him the mingled contempt, sarcasm, and wrath of Burke, who almost called him assassin, and who clearly accounted him a fool. The Doctor really hated nothing but cards, and yet, to gratify his wife, who suffered acutely from ill health, and found no solace but in a rubber, he sat down cheerfully to whist every night. Dr. Price died in 1791, in the 69th year of his age.—D.

impression. All the hireling writers were employed to answer. The author was complimented with the freedom of the City, and it was thought some complaint would be made from that quarter of the manœuvres of the Bank. Indeed the Directors of the Bank grew more reserved in furthering the jobs of Administration. The Earl of Stair,[5] an honest Scot, enthusiastic in the cause of America, published soon afterwards another tract on the impossibility of supporting the expense of the war, which for the present year was calculated at five millions.

[5] John, 5th Earl. His story belongs to the romance of the Peerage. John, the 2nd Earl, the Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief, surrendered his titles to the Crown in 1707. A new charter, then obtained, authorised him, in default of heirs male, to nominate to the succession of his titles and estates any direct descendant of the first Viscount Stair, who died in 1695, and who was this John's grandfather. Now this Earl John, finding himself childless, and having two brothers, William and George, nominated in 1747 his namesake John, son of the younger brother, as his successor. The charter had stated that, if he failed to nominate, the titles and estates should pass to the second son of the elder brother William. This second son, named James, claimed and obtained the title, as if there had been no nomination under the charter. He died without issue in 1760, and was then succeeded by his own elder brother William, who also dying without issue in 1768, the title and estates then fell to his cousin—that very *John* whom the second Earl (in 1747) had declared should be his heir, and who continued to enjoy both till his death in 1789.—D.

MARCH.

ADVICE came that Lord Dunmore, after his defeat, had burnt the town of Norfolk in Virginia. Other accounts said that the Provincials had set fire to it themselves.

On the *5th* the Duke of Richmond moved the House of Lords to address the King to countermand the foreign troops going to America, to stop the farther effusion of blood, and put an end to hostilities. This motion, after a long debate, was rejected by 100 to 32. The Duke of Richmond, amongst other severities, said (alluding to the King) that the spirit which governed the Cabinet was weak, ignorant, and obstinate. Lord Shelburne made a great figure in that debate; and even the Duke of Cumberland spoke against the war and the foreign troops, lamenting with much emotion that the troops of Brunswick, which had always fought for liberty, should be employed on the other side. "But, my Lords," said the Prince, "I grow warm, and will say no more." Lord Temple made so obscure a speech, though with strong imputations on the nefficiencies and inability of the Ministers, that, though he did not vote, it was understood as declaring for the prosecution of the war: it was so reported to Lord Chatham, and even as if Lord Temple had declared that Lord was of the same opinion. The newspapers declared it was with Lord Chatham's concurrence, which obliged both those Lords to contradict the report of either favouring the war. Lord Chatham went farther, and ordered his wife to write a letter disavowing those sentiments in his name. Lord Temple himself, who very few days before had told me he would not attend

the House of Lords, came to me to explain his motives, and said he had been forced to go thither to disavow his nephew, George Grenville, who had been drawn in (by Lord George Germaine) to declare too roundly against America. Lord Sandwich, in the same debate, amidst many false assertions, particularly in excusing the burning of Norfolk, said he would tell the House how it happened, *if Norfolk really had been burnt*—it was being prompt at excuses, to say he knew how an affair had happened, which he did not know whether it had happened or not.

It was in the debate on the foreign troops that George Grenville had spoken and voted against the Americans; but as I was very ill the beginning of this year, my notes on the three first months are very imperfect. They may be well supplied from the 'London Chronicle.' On the debate for the foreign troops, General Conway distinguished his abilities and spirit in the highest manner, and sorely wounded Lord North by reproaching him with the treachery to the Americans after the promises made to them by Lord Hillsborough's letter. In one of those debates it came out that Colonel Dalrymple, nephew of the infamous historian Sir John, had been raising Roman Catholics in Ireland for the King's service, and had been assisted by the Popish Archbishop of Tuam. This, if there had been no other key to Sir John Dalrymple's principles, explained why he had traduced the great Algernon Sydney!

There were other good debates in the Commons on the 9*th* and 11*th*. In the latter Charles Fox made a panegyric on General Montgomery (who had borne a most excellent character), and reproached the Administration with having lost, by ill treatment, so amiable a man—a man distinguished by the friendship and esteem of General Wolfe. Lord North confessed the bravery and virtues of Montgomery, but said still he had fallen in rebellion. Barré took

this up with warmth, and said that while Fox had been speaking he had heard a sort of sneering laugh: he wished he knew from whom it came, he would never keep company with the wretches that were capable of it. Lord North on this occasion behaved with decency. Commonly he treated most subjects with ridicule, and this winter was more than ever cried up for his wit. It was on the Hessian question, mentioned above, that Lord North spoke with so much wit. Burke answered him extempore with scarce inferior wit. Mr. Elliot, of Port Elliot, a Lord of Trade, voted with the minority, and soon after resigned his employment. However the nation in general was prejudiced against the Americans, it appeared that there were enthusiasts also on the other side. Mr. Elliot was descended from Sir John Elliot, imprisoned in the Tower by Charles I. A country gentleman, dining with Mr. Elliot at his house in Cornwall, where hung a picture of his ancestor in the Tower, said, "I hope soon to see you in the same situation!" A civil war, in which Lord North had been so deep an actor, and, to his disgrace, an instrument, and an unsuccessful one, was no very decent season for buffoonery. Burke compared him with George Selwyn, and said they were the capital wits of the age—the one in public, the other in private company. Burke himself always aimed at wit, but was not equally happy in public and private. In the former nothing was so luminous, so striking, so abundant; in private it was forced, unnatural, and bombast. Lord North had more humour than wit, though rarely deficient in the latter. But the best *bon mot* of the winter fell from Wilkes, in an ironic speech on Lord George Germaine: he said the noble Lord *might conquer America, but he believed it would not be in Germany.* That rhodomontade of Lord Chatham had been so often applied, that

it seemed difficult to allude to it with novelty any more. Lord George, whose insolence bore him up above all his disgraces, repeated this sarcasm on himself in Council, and commended it. He carried this overbearing humour yet higher. Complaining to the King of the neglects and dilatoriness of the Admiralty and Ministry, and of the badness of the transports, he said, "But I must say, Sir, that the two heaviest and worst sailers are the King George and the Lord North;" and he bragged of having said this. If ever he falls into disgrace, the King will remember it.

It was fact: the transports were not only bad and ill-manned, but so little care and thought had been had for providing them, that even at the end of April not half the number were provided. The Brunswick troops, the first of the foreign mercenaries, did not sail before the 4th of April, and the first division of Hessians did not arrive at Portsmouth before the 24th. The Administration had reckoned on having an army of 50,000 men in America by the opening of the campaign; and had loudly talked of completing the conquest in one summer. It was now plain that they would not be able to take the field before the end of June at soonest, when the heats would make it difficult to act; but these boasts had been no less given out to impose on the Parliament and the nation. Now the language was altered; and as the preparations for this year were made, they began to talk of doing little this year—that is, disappointments were to be guarded against, and a foundation of another year's profusion prepared.

10*th*. Dr. Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, preached before the King. He (the Bishop), Shipley, Law, and Hinchcliffe,[1]

[1] Of Shipley and Hinchcliffe I have before spoken. Of Law, who is so much better known, it will suffice to say that he held the bishopric of Carlisle nineteen years, from 1768 to 1787, when he died. He was the father of the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough. As a writer, he indulged more frequently in parenthetical observations than Lord Clarendon himself. When one of his works was passing slowly through the press at Carlisle, the Bishop complained

were the only prelates professedly in Opposition. The Bishop of Exeter preached against the dissipation of the age, and announced the judgments that would follow it. "Have they not already fallen on us?" said he. "Are we not engaged in a fatal civil war? And give me leave to add," continued he, "that, if the sword is not timely sheathed, ruin will ensue to both countries." Lord Denbigh clamoured against that sermon even to the Bishop of London; yet that courtly priest was so true to his own order, that he defended the sermon, as becoming a bishop, even against the sycophant, who replied, "But, my Lord, would you have preached it?" "I cannot say I would," said Terrick.

14*th*. The Duke of Grafton made a new motion for pacification with America, and stated the pacific language of Lord Dartmouth, and the warlike tone of Lord George Germaine. He informed the House too that two French agents were actually at the Congress negotiating with the Americans. This was enforced by Lord Camden, and vaguely denied only by Lord Weymouth. Lord Sandwich as usual denied and asserted whatever came into his head; the Duke of Richmond lashed the Bishops for their unchristian compliance with bloody measures; Lord Shelburne made a great figure; but at past ten at night the motion was rejected by 91 to 31.—*Vide* 'London Chronicle.'

17*th*. Colonel St. Paul, Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, was made Minister Plenipotentiary there. As no Ambassador thence was named in the room of Monsieur De Guines, it looked as if Lord Stormont was not to remain at Paris.

22*nd*. The King received a remonstrance from the City against the war.

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of the delay. The printer excused himself on the ground that he had been compelled to stop the press till he had received from a type-foundry at Glasgow *a pound* of parentheses.—D.

APRIL.

10*th.* A PROVINCIAL ship that had been going to a French port for ammunition was betrayed and brought into Bristol by the mate, who not only confirmed this friendly intercourse of the Provincials with France (before the Ministers could know or stop his blabbing, so contrary to all their assertions), but he declared (conformably to what the Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden had asserted) that two French noblemen were then at the Congress negotiating with the Americans, and that the two negotiators were to have gone back to France in that very ship, if it had not been overloaded.

15*th.* Began the trial of the Duchess of Kingston. It raised great clamour against the Ecclesiastical Court. 22*nd*, she was convicted, but dismissed without punishment, as Lord Mansfield had foretold. Two days after she retired to Calais, to prevent receiving a writ *ne exeat regno*, which was issued the night she went.[1]

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[1] The Duchess declared that a decree of the Ecclesiastical Court had not before been reversed for 1425 years! When that Court had before them the question of her early marriage with the Hon. Augustus Hervey, it pronounced that "the parties, as far as appeared to them, were not legally married, and that Miss Chudleigh was and is a spinster, free to marry, especially as regards the Hon. Augustus Hervey." Contemporary statements assert that the witness who proved the marriage before the House of Lords had, at the time of the inquiry before the Ecclesiastical Court (the result of which enabled the lady, as she thought, to marry the Duke of Kingston), been sent down to Lincolnshire, with the promise of a pension of 20*l.* a year. At the bar of the House of Lords the Duchess, on conviction, pleaded her privilege as a peeress, which was allowed; but she was told that her privilege would not screen her if she again offended, and the crime would then be capital. Her privilege also to be tried by her peers rested on the ground that if she was not Duchess of Kingston she was Countess of Bristol, her first husband having succeeded to the title in 1775. The Duchess died A.D. 1788. —D.

An account that Jamaica, alarmed at a great French force in those seas, had arrayed their militia. Ministers had still more reason to tremble for the East, and betrayed their fears. They had determined to leave out some obnoxious Directors of the Company, and elect others more confidential, with a view, it was supposed, of engaging the Company at the price of two or three millions to Government to renew their Charter, which was within two years of expiration. They had settled this new list, and used all their art and industry to secure success; but, on the eve of the election, dropped the design, and left in the old obnoxious members, who must have known whatever bad news had come, and would have published it in revenge, if turned out of the Direction.

Account of the execution of Nuncomar in India.

24*th*. Lord North opened the Budget, and proposed additional taxes on coaches, dice and cards, and newspapers, and a tax on stage coaches, exempted before. All these were light, and were approved, yet that on newspapers was liable to suspicion. Lord North denied any danger to Jamaica, vaunted the prosperous state of the kingdom, and as usual, whatever was the subject, except on danger to his own person, he treated the whole with mirth and ridicule.

25*th*. The Lords having thrown out the bill that indemnified the Ministers who had advised filling Gibraltar and Port Mahon with foreign troops,[2] Sir James Lowther again moved for a resolution against that measure, but without success.

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[2] The Ministers had never desired the bill, and at the third reading, Lord Rockingham, moving to have it thrown out, had been surprised to find himself seconded by Lord Weymouth; and nobody saying a word for the bill, it was lost.

The same morning the Queen was brought to bed of an eleventh child, a daughter.[3]

30*th*. Wilkes made his annual motion for rescinding the Middlesex election. It was rejected by 186 to 92.

The Ministers had been infinitely disappointed of a sufficient number of transports. For the Hessians they had procured but half the necessary quantity; and then the Hessian General would not suffer the half to sail without the whole. This occasioned so long delay, that the first half arrived at Portsmouth but in the last week of April; and then the same impediment was thrown in the way by the Hessian commander. The King was forced to send General Harvey to Portsmouth, and it was with great difficulty Harvey prevailed for their sailing, the King taking it on himself to justify it to the Landgrave. It appeared that the Ministers must have had advice of the very bad posture of their affairs in America, though they pretended to have received the contrary, for now all was changed, and the Guards, who had been detained and who were to have gone to Virginia with the Hessians, were now ordered, both the one and the other, to Boston. The Ministers published so late as the 27th that the siege of Quebec was raised, and that the Congress had reprimanded Washington for not attacking Boston, and said he had excused himself on having but 15,000 men, and those ill-disciplined, and from want of artillery. General Clinton with his little division had touched at New York, but had not stayed there, and was sailed for Virginia; and since that it was known that General Lee, with some thousand men and expecting more, was drawing strong lines round that place. Whether the Ministers believed Quebec

[3] Mary, who married the son of the Duke of Gloucester, born this same year, in 1816, and died in 1857.—D.

safe, and the Provincial army at Boston weak, or whether they despaired of the first and feared for the second, where at least the Royal army had nothing but salt provisions left, the Guards and the Hessians were to have sailed for Boston on the 2nd of May.

MAY.

2nd. THE wind turned contrary, and that very morning came news that entirely put a stop to the new plan, for letters arrived that General Howe had been forced to abandon Boston. Five days before, the Ministers believed, or said they believed, that the Congress had reprimanded General Washington for having done nothing; that he had answered that he had but 15,000 men, ill-disciplined, and no artillery; and that the Congress had admitted his excuse. Now the Court affirmed that he had 25,000 men. They at Boston were starving, had nothing but salt provisions, and had not even received any news from England since October. Washington, either knowing their situation, or that the Provincials were more exasperated than ever on hearing of the intention of sending Russians against them, and of the Restraining Bill, had prepared to storm the town, and had opened a cannonade. General Howe in despair resolved to attack their army; but a violent storm, that lasted two days, prevented him, and the ruin of his forces. He then quitted the town, destroyed what works he could, and embarked his men, what artillery he could carry off, and as many of the inhabitants and their wives as were attached to England,

with their effects. The Provincials gave him no interruption, lest in revenge he should burn the town. In this extremity he sailed for Halifax, where distress had been already felt.

This blow the Ministers endeavoured to represent as fortunate, publishing a ridiculous account in the Gazette, crying up Howe's retreat as a master stroke, and giving out that they had ordered him to quit Boston; but nobody was deceived, though Lord North said, with indifference, *it was only having five thousand men more in circulation*—but then the Provincials had five-and-twenty thousand more! The not having been able to victual Boston, after the immense expense, nor even to get a letter to it, proved the madness of all they were doing. The friends of America revived on this news. Great abuse fell on Lord George Germaine, though he certainly had been as active as possible. The Bedford party began to talk for peace, and probably the Court began to think of it. A commission passed the seals to Lord Howe and his brother the General, to empower them to treat; and on the

4th the Hessians and Guards sailed, now to Halifax, and Lord Howe on the *8th*.

6th. The King asked a vote of credit, and a million was voted.

The same day Colonel Barré moved for the accounts from Boston; the Ministers used the old stale argument of the impropriety of the time. Barré produced forty precedents of Lord Chatham communicating intelligence in the last war to Parliament; and this had affectedly been called a Parliamentary war, and yet votes of credit were asked without any information given. Burke made a most warm speech, showed the falsehood of the Gazette, and all the other blunders and lies. Conway made a

most admired speech to the same purport. Lord George Germaine answered him in a poor, abject manner, confessing the misfortune at Boston. Charles Fox was absent at Newmarket, Governor Johnston and T. Townshend in other places,—so the question was refused to a very small minority. The next day,

7th, the House sat till five in the morning on a discussion of the licences to trade given to his creatures by Lord Sandwich, which the Restraining Bill denied to the merchants. Lord North had written a letter of reprimand to the Admiralty on this abuse; the Opposition took the very words of his letter for their motion—yet it was rejected. Lord North, whose jocularity was overset by the bad news from America, lost his temper most indecently. The Provincials had taken the isle of Providence. An expedition sent by General Howe to Georgia had miscarried, and intelligence was come that the American Admiral with a squadron were waiting off Jamaica to intercept, and were likely to take the West Indiamen. The Restraining Bill had wrought their rage to the highest pitch, and had brought back to the Congress Dickinson, one of the chiefs, who had left them and put on the King's colours. A pamphlet called 'Commom Sense,' supposed to be written by Dr. Franklin, was come over, in which they disclaimed Royalty and all connection with this country.

10*th*. Temple Luttrell abused Lord George Germaine in the grossest terms, and for a long time, in the House of Commons. He said, *flight was the only safety that remained for the royal army, and he saw one who had set the example in Germany, and was fit to lead them on such an occasion.* Lord George said not a word in reply.

12*th*. Twelve new peerages were declared.[1] The King had involved himself in so many promises, and so many coronets had been asked, that for some years no peers had been created. Twelve peers were as many as had created clamour at the end of Queen Anne's reign. The new creations were: Lord Caermarthen, called up to the House of Lords; the Duchess of Argyll a Baroness, that her son, Duke Hamilton, might be an English peer; Lord Polwarth, son of the Earl of Marchmont; Lord Mountstewart, of Lord Bute; Sir Edward Hawke; Sir Jeffery Amherst; George Onslow; George Pitt; Mr. Rider; Mr. Foley; and Sir Brownlow Cust; with Mr. Southwell, to whom the Barony of Clifford, then in abeyance, had been allotted. Some of these were well entitled to the rank; some were attended with extraordinary circumstances. Sir Edward Hawke was one of the principal heroes of the last war, in which Sir Jeffery Amherst had distinguished himself too. Lord Caermarthen's was a favour, and no new peerage. Singular was the fortune of the Duchess of Argyll. She and her sister, the celebrated Lady Coventry, were Irish girls (Gunning) of no fortune, and scarce gentlewomen but by their mother.[2] They had been designed for the stage. The wonderful beauty of their faces and persons had captivated the Earl of Coventry and Duke Hamilton. The younger had preserved the fairest reputation; and on Duke Hamilton's death she was sought in marriage by the Duke of Bridgewater, but preferred the Duke of Argyll, and became mother of both those formerly great

[1] When these twelve peerages were gazetted, parallels were made between them and the famous creation of twelve in Queen Anne's time, and the old jocular question was asked, whether the twelve would be bound to speak through their foreman. Thirty-four new peers had now been added to the House since the accession of George III.; and the Lords now amounted to 237.—D.

[2] The Hon. Bridget Bourke, third daughter of Theobald, sixth Viscount Mayo. The Bourkes had Plantagenet blood in them,—quite enough thereof to compensate for the inferior "tap" of the humble but honest Gunnings.—D.

and contending houses: and now by the favour of the Queen, to whom she was lady of the bedchamber, and with whom she had been so ill two years before as to have thought of quitting her place, became from an Irish girl the source of new honour to the proud House of Hamilton. That Duke and the Duke of Queensberry had English Dukedoms, but had been excluded from seats in Parliament, though the latter had enjoyed his. This Barony seemed to allow that rejection, though neither had ever condescended to be of the sixteen, and was hard on Queensberry, though of little consequence, as he was past seventy and had no children. Yet there was something childishly contradictory in this new Barony to that of Lord Mounstewart, conferred at the same moment. His mother, Lady Bute, had been created a Baroness at the beginning of the reign, that it might descend to him; yet some lawyers having started a doubt whether, if his father should die before his mother, Lord Mountstewart, then a Scotch peer, could inherit, an English peerage was prepared for Duke Hamilton, who was already a Scotch peer—so little consistence was there in the acts of the Court.

Lord Polwarth's Barony seemed almost as unnecessary as Lord Caermarthen's. He was an only child, had married the eldest daughter of the Marchioness of Grey (Baroness Lucas), so that, had he had children, they would inherit an English peerage, and he had none. George Onslow's was still more absurd. Lord Onslow, to whom he was heir, was past sixty, childless, and dying; but he had been disappointed of a seat in the House of Commons, and, being a Lord of the Treasury, thought it below his dignity not to be in either House of Parliament. George Pitt had sued for the Barony of Morley, in abeyance

between him and Lord Portmore. He now took the title of Rivers, from which family he was descended by a female. Mr. Rider's was a case of great hardship; his father, Sir Dudley Rider, Attorney-General, had actually been made a peer in the last reign, but died before the patent had passed the seal, and it was stopped. He had now married the Bishop of London's daughter, was a worthy man, rich, and a speaker in Parliament, and obtained justice. Sir Brownlow Cust was son of the last Speaker, and heir of the last Brownlow, Viscount Tirconnel. Mr. Foley was exceedingly rich, a Tory, and heir of the Lord Foley, one of Queen Anne's twelve, all recommendations in this reign.

Mr. Southwell had experienced three uncommon hardships, and well merited this favour. His grandfather's mother had walked at Queen Mary's funeral as Baroness of Cromwell in her own right, but her son could never obtain his writ. Mr. Southwell's mother was only daughter of Lady Sondes, second daughter of the Earl of Thanet, who had inherited the Barony of Clifford from the Earls of Cumberland. That Barony, by Lord Thanet's death, had fallen in abeyance between his five daughters. The two eldest being married to the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Sondes, heir of the Earl of Rockingham, and each having sons who would be Earls, George II. had given the Barony to the third sister, wife of Lord Lovel, afterwards Earl of Leicester. He and she losing their only son, Lord Coke, and Lady Clifford dying without issue the last year, the Barony became in abeyance again amongst the representatives of the four other sisters. Lady Sondes had had three sons, two of whom had become Earls of Rockingham, and both dying without issue, Thomas, the younger of the brothers, had left his estate from his only sister's

son, Mr. Southwell, to his aunt's[3] second son, Mr. Monson, since created Lord Sondes, on condition of his taking the name of Watson—probably to survive that family, as Mr. Southwell had a good estate. He now recovered one of the advantages he had missed, and to which he was so well entitled.

At this time was brought into Parliament a bill (for one year) for erecting galleys on the Thames[4] for employing criminals,—as convicts, by the American war, could not be transported, as usual, to the plantations. They were first intended to be sent to Africa, but our Governors there had remonstrated against receiving them. In time of warm Opposition *galley-slaves* would have occasioned the loudest clamour: now it raised none. Even Lord John Cavendish, a hearty Whig patriot, supported it on the humane principle of wishing to establish the punishment in lieu of death for robberies, which, in spite of all the laws, and of the vagabonds lately enrolled for America, were never so frequent, from the enormous dissipation of all orders of men, and from the outrageous spirit of gaming which had spread from the fashionable young men of quality to the ladies and to the lowest ranks of the people.

17*th*. General Smith was committed to the King's Bench prison, on conviction of bribery at Hindon, on Mr. Grenville's bill. Young George Grenville, Sir George Young, George Byng, and some others, had for two years been labouring to disfranchise Hindon and Shaftsbury for

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[3] Married to Lord Monson.

[4] In the volume of Egerton Papers, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Payne Collier, there is reference made to the introduction into England, by Queen Elizabeth, of the continental system of galleys and forced labour. The Queen, it appears, had built a single galley, and had others in preparation. To man the former she selected a crew from the prisons,—a change for the crew, considering what prisons then were, that must have been very satisfactory to the labouring captives. The system, however, did not succeed. Transportation to our North American colonies was the first kind of banishment, united with hard labour, which was extensively adopted by us.—D.

the notorious corruption of those two boroughs; but just now, at the end of the session, the adversaries to Grenville's bill had thrown out that bill of disfranchisement, and, on issuing the new writ, General Smith had again presented himself, and been returned for Hindon; the return had even arrived on the 16th; but not having been certified to the Clerk of the Crown, Lord Mansfield committed the General. This man had from a cheesemonger's son risen to an insolence of wealth by plunder in the Indies. His wife was covered with chains of pearls and diamonds, and he himself, who had been drawn by Foote, in the 'Nabob,' under the character of Matthew Mite,[5] was the deepest of all deep gamesters in London. Being excluded from the fashionable club of young men of quality at Almack's, and wishing to plunder them like the Indies, he and a set of sharpers had formed a plan for a new club, which, by the excess of play, should draw all the young extravagants thither. They built a magnificent house in St. James's street, furnished it gorgeously, and enrolled both the clubs at White's and that of Almack's. The titular master of the house the first night acquainted the richest and most wasteful of the members that they might be furnished in the house with loans of ready money, even as far as forty thousand pounds. This pernicious seminary, erected, in defiance of so many laws, at the very gate of the King's palace, and menacing ruin to their heirs to the most opulent of the Legislature, was tolerated by a Court that delighted in seeing the great Lords and Commoners reduced

[5] The 'Nabob' was first produced at the Haymarket on the 29th June, 1772; Foote playing Sir Matthew Mite, in which character he was only approached by Palmer. In this piece the Society of Antiquaries comes in for a good share of satire, and the club-morals of the time are illustrated in the circumstance of Sir Matthew being requested not to allude to "hanging," as a member's brother had so finished his career. Sir Matthew subsequently d——ing a member, Touchit replies, "That's right! stick to that! for though the Christian club may have some fears of the gallows, they don't value damnation a farthing."—D.

to a state of beggary and dependence, and which, affecting piety, winked at such giant vice, while many members of the legislature partook of the flagrant dissipation, and none stirred a finger to check it. The cries of a civil war were drowned in such a torrent of dissolute manners, and the clergy employed all their labours in promoting the tyrannic views of the Court. Charles II. corrupted the morals of his age, yet virtue and patriotism shot up amidst the tares he sowed. The uncommunicative selfishness and pride of George III. confined him to domestic virtues. His people were welcome to be as abandoned as they pleased; and when their vices made them necessitous, the rewards destined to virtue were showered on the profligate, not to correct their want of principles, but to ensure it.

17*th.* Came accounts of a change in the French Ministry. Louis XVI., a very weak prince with some rays of good qualities, had trusted the chief power with the old Count de Maurepas, who gained no credit by his administration, nor showed any genius or firmness; at most the arts of an aged courtier. The young Queen had been tutored by the Empress Queen, her mother, to endeavour the recall of the Duke of Choiseul, and had early succeeded so far as to obtain the revocation of his banishment. Proud of her credit, she boasted of it. Old Maurepas reported the vaunt to the King; and as weak men, who are most easily governed, are afraid of it, his Majesty, who humoured the Queen in most things, constantly denied to grant her any farther favours for Choiseul. Indeed, Maurepas, to secure the exclusion of so formidable a rival, whispered to the King that Choiseul had poisoned the Dauphin his father—the very art employed by Madame de Pompadour against Maurepas himself, whom she accused of poisoning her predecessor, the Duchess of

Châteauroux. Maurepas had introduced two men who had imbibed all the humane doctrines of modern philosophy. These were Monsieur Turgot, set at the head of the finances, and the virtuous President de Malesherbes, who, extremely against his inclination, was made Secretary of State for Paris, in which department he showered down blessings, and in vain attempted to extend his benevolence by reforming all crying abuses, in concurrence with Turgot, who resolved to brave every danger and difficulty in correcting an oppressive constitution. When Intendant of a province, Turgot had raised the Corvées within his jurisdiction, and now set about abolishing them, and other crying grievances, obtaining the King's consent and support. The clergy and gentry, whose estates would have suffered by this relief of the woes of the poor, united against the salutary reform: and the restored Parliament in the same cause, and for the same interests, remonstrated against the King's arrêts, thus justifying the despotic Chancellor Maurepas, who had substituted a new Parliament in their places; for they now showed how little true patriotism was in their hearts, though they had so boldly withstood the late King. They were incited to this resistance by their old Tribune, the Prince of Conti, a lover of faction from no virtue, but from pride. Their opposition was so stout that most of the Council advised the King to recede. Maurepas, timid, irresolute, and now jealous of Turgot's credit, would take no part. The intrepid Turgot persisted, carried the King to a Lit de Justice, and forced obedience to all the godlike acts.

In the mean time neither the Queen nor Maurepas was idle. The Queen, young, beautiful, of a commanding air, had many of the faults of her age and sex. She adored her own beauty, and liked its being homaged; was

extravagantly fond of dress and pleasure; was capricious, fickle, and indiscreet, with an ardent desire of command. The King, though incapable of tasting her beauty, was fond of her, and at least indulgent; and as no other woman could be her rival, the number of hours that he passed alone with her could but augment her influence over a husband who had no real firmness. She had openly and zealously espoused the cause of the Comte de Guines. Messieurs de Turgot and Malesherbes, who had no opinion of the Count's innocence, and the former of whom had procured his recall, had procured his being so coolly received by the King, that, after long being denied an audience, when he at last obtained it, and begged to know the cause of his sudden recall, he could extract no other answer from the King than "l'Ambassade étoit finie;" and after his audience, when the King talked to the Comte du Châtelet, De Guines's predecessor in the embassy, the King said nothing to De Guines, who stood next, but talked to Châtelet on England. Maurepas and Vergennes, to increase the Queen's animosity to Turgot and Malesherbes, by profiting of their indisposition to De Guines, persuaded M. de Malesherbes, who knew nothing of a Court, to represent to her Majesty that she ought not to support so guilty a man as De Guines. Malesherbes fell into the snare, was laughed at by the Queen, and by all Paris, which loves to laugh, and was encouraged by his various enemies, particularly by the clergy, nobility, and army, who did not taste the elevation of two civil men of no illustrious birth, and much less their plans of reformation. The clergy hated them as favourers of the Protestants and the philosophers. Malesherbes, hurt at the "pas de clerc" he had made, asked leave to resign and return to a virtuous repose which he had unwillingly

sacrificed in vain to serve the public. The King resisted for a short time; but the Queen taking advantage of the moment, not only the resignation of Malesherbes was accepted, but, to the astonishment of all France, Turgot himself was suddenly dismissed, though the King himself, but a week before, had said, "I believe there is nobody but Turgot and I who have any idea of justice." But this levity was not new. Just before his grandfather's death he had told the Chancellor to go on in his despotic plans, and promised to support him when King. The Chancellor was the first he banished. The Presidency of all the Councils was given to Maurepas; but he himself was the first to point out to the public the author of the change, and with whom power lay, for he stooped to beg of the Queen the recall of his nephew the Duke d'Aiguillon, pleading the share he himself had had in the favour shown to the Comte de Guines, who was now made a Duke, and thanked by the King in a letter under his hand for his services. The Queen took care to confirm the ostentation of her power, for she treated Maurepas very ill, and refused to grant his suit for his nephew; and a Monsieur de Cluni was brought in, who had been employed in the marine under the Duke de Praslin during Choiseul's Ministry.

The Comte de Noailles was named Ambassador to England, a poor security to us, when two such pacific men as Turgot and Malesherbes were removed. The power of the Queen, and the probability of Choiseul being replaced, were a thunder-clap to our Court, now in the utmost despair on the affairs of America. The stocks immediately fell, and the arrogance of the Ministers was so sunk, that Lord North said to a person from whom I had it, "I wish the time was come for my being abused for having made a disgraceful peace with America!"

Peace, even before the news from France, had become the measure. They had hurried away Lord Howe out of town to Portsmouth the day before his brother's retreat from Boston was sure of being mentioned in the House of Commons, lest Lord Howe's want of sense should draw him into betraying any secrets in defence of his brother—yet to that want of sense they trusted so momentous a negotiation! They hurried him off with vast powers, it was said, and with few instructions, hoping he would hazard a disavantageous peace, and be liable to bear the blame. I have heard too, but do not know if true, that he obtained a full pardon for whatever he should do, under the King's sign manual. If he did, some friend more shrewd than himself must have suggested that salvo.

Whether the desperate situation of affairs before, or the news from France, alarmed the Junto, and made them wish to detach themselves from Lord North, I cannot tell, but at the India House Lord Bute's friends, under Sir Gilbert Elliot, joined the Opposition, and defeated Lord North in his attempt to reverse a question that had been carried there for recalling Hastings and Barwell. The Butists pretended that two younger sons of Lord Bute and Elliot, just returned from India, had contracted friendships there which their fathers favoured, but neither father would have deserted the Minister without a serious purpose of betraying him.

General Conway, who, with so much spirit and so much indifference to his interest, had persevered in condemning and opposing the American war, was shocked to see the session expire without the smallest communication to Parliament. The Ministers had haughtily rejected every overture towards peace from the Opposition; more imperiously had withheld every communication

of measures and events; had, especially in the House of Lords by the mouth of Lord Sandwich, denied, exaggerated, falsified, not only all intelligence, but every circumstance; had drawn all decision on a war, that they had affected to call parliamentary, to the King; and had, by the contradictory language of Lord North and Lord George Germaine, left the Parliament wholly in doubt whether they meant peace or war, and, if peace, whether they would grant America a moderate peace, or whether they would expect implicit submission. The venal Parliament—I mean the great majority—had servilely acquiesced under this treatment; the public had been as patient, and bore being shut out from all debates. Conway determined to press the Court to speak out, and to call for an explanation of their meaning, whether Parliament was to have anything to do in the negotiation or not. A few days before the conclusion, he, in a very serious and pathetic manner, put several questions to the Ministers in the House of Commons. They deigning to make no answer, he gave them notice he would, on the eve of the prorogation, state his questions in a motion. I, who well, I thought, knew the Ministers and the subterfuges of Lord Mansfield, expected that the previous notice would furnish the latter with some art of chicanery to evade the motion; but disaster and dismay seemed to have blunted their wits, and they quietly expected and stood a scene of confusion and disgrace, even without arguments, and took up with the cold satisfaction of a majority against the motion. Lord Hertford, indeed, tried all his Court rhetoric to dissuade his brother from his intention, even after he had notified it publicly. But Conway was immoveable; and I do not doubt but the credit he gained comforted Lord Hertford, as the despair of the Ministry

made him see how useful his brother would be to him if a change should happen.

On the 22*nd* Conway moved for an Address to the King, that he would be pleased to communicate to the House so much of his instructions to Lord and General Howe as related to the conditions on which it was proposed to make peace. He spoke an hour and a quarter with most pathetic eloquence and weight, opened the whole scene of mismanagement, dwelt on Lord Hillsborough's treacherous letter, showed the improbability of the Americans treating with us, the impossibility of concluding without recourse to Parliament, urged on the country gentlemen their fatal delusion, spoke of his own disinterestedness and moderation, avowed his disposition to support the Administration, with whom he dissented but on America, commended Lord North, whom he allowed to be the best-humoured of Ministers, pointed out the hopelessness of the approaching campaign, and displayed the impending danger of a war with France, and the nakedness of our situation. He quoted a letter from Voltaire to the King of Prussia, in which both those men of genius[6] condemned our blindness; and in short, by the most consummate abilities, graces, seriousness, and eloquence, charmed almost all his audience, though he failed of gaining any votes from the majority, which accompanied with their own disgrace the wretched defence made by the Ministers—in truth by only two of them, Lord North and Lord George Germaine, the latter of whom was dragged up to speak, and never made

[6] "Both those men of genius" had been recently reviling each other, and Voltaire had only very lately written thus of his quondam friend and patron:—

"Haï du dieu de l'amour, cher au dieu des combats,
Il baigna dans le sang Europe et sa patrie;
Cent mille hommes par lui reçurent le trépas,
Et pas un n'en reçut la vie."

—D.

a poorer figure. They pleaded the old stale pretence of not discovering measures. Lord George was so dismayed that he had the desperate courage to tell a gross untruth,—he denied ever having said that he should insist on implicit obedience from the colonies, which all the House had heard from him, and pretended to explain it away by other words, though to the same effect, protesting he had only said he would not make peace while the colonies were in arms—what would that be but implicit submission? The Junto kept silence, as usual in difficult moments, hoping to keep their hold, though the Ministers should be changed. Lord John Cavendish seconded Conway; and Burke, Charles Fox, T. Townshend, Colonel Barré, Governor Johnston, and Hartley, supported the motion. Burke paid the most profuse compliments to Conway's abilities and virtues, avowing how proud he should be to serve under him; yet with his usual jealousy condemning Conway's partial opposition to bad Ministers, and vaunting his own unaltered virtue. Barré laid all their faults heavily and wittily on the Ministers; and when Lord North pleaded wishing that the House saw Lord Howe's instructions, Johnston said anybody might see the commission for two shillings where it was registered—it was the real instructions they ought to see. Young Adam, the Scot, as usual, condemned the Ministers, wishing for anybody that would correct their faults—no doubt with a salvo for the Junto. The Bedfords, and even Rigby, were mute, though nobody hated Conway so much as the latter, and he owned afterwards how sorely he bore Conway's triumph. The House sat till half an hour past ten. The motion rejected by 171 to 85.

That very night Lord Hertford owned to me the dismay of the Ministers, and the impossibility of their main-

taining their hold a year. The best, he said, he thought Lord George Germaine could do, would be to run away in six months. Till now, he said, he had thought we should subdue America.—I believe he did, or he would not have been so zealous. On the 30th of April, when Wilkes's motion had been defeated by a great majority, he twice repeated in my presence, to taunt me, "This is the way Government carries questions in this reign." I now contented myself with blowing up his personal alarm, painted the probability of a French war, and said, "My Lord, you have more reason to tremble than most men, for undoubtedly the first place they will land in will be Ireland, which is left so exposed." There Lord Hertford's great estate lay.

On the 23*rd* Sir George Saville and Hartley moved to address the King, not to prorogue, but only to adjourn the Parliament, stating most artfully the tremendous posture of our affairs.—See their arguments well stated in the London Chronicle of May 25.

24*th*. The Parliament was prorogued. The stocks fell every day. About this time Stanley and Jenkinson went to France; probably to sift into the revolution there, and probably to deprecate a war. During the winter, seeing the weakness of Opposition, I had tried to persuade them to offer a protest against the measures to the House of Commons, which, though it was sure of being rejected as unprecedented, yet they might print it for their own vindication, in answer to the slanders thrown on them as promoters of the rebellion. This many approved, but nothing was done. After the session I recommended to them to publish an apology for their conduct, proving that they had foretold all the ill success that had already attended the King's counsels and arms, which would have

raised their credit in the nation; but there was no sense, no activity amongst them, and I was not minded.

28*th*. It was suddenly declared that the King had dismissed Dr. Markham (Bishop of Chester) and Mr. Jackson [7] from being Preceptor and Sub-Preceptor to the Prince of Wales; and that Lord Holderness and Mr. Smelt, his Royal Highness's Governor and Sub-Governor, had resigned those posts. No reason was assigned for so great a revolution. All that got out at first was, that Lord Holderness had been quarrelling with Jackson for three months, and had said he could not serve with him. So inadequate a cause could not at all account for so general a change, nor satisfy the extreme curiosity of mankind on so large an event, which, as Lord Hertford said to me that night, must have had weighty causes to surmount the King's disposition to conceal everything as much as he possibly could. The next day Lord Bruce was named Governor, and Dr. Hurd (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry) Preceptor, both being told that they were not to choose their own substitutes; the former was at the same time created Earl of Ailesbury. Bruce Brudenel, youngest brother of Lord Brudenel Montagu, Duke of Montagu, had been adopted by his uncle, Thomas Bruce Earl of Ailesbury, and inherited his estate. This new Earl was a formal, dull man, totally ignorant of and unversed in the world, and a Tory; very unexceptionable in his character, suited

[7] Cyril Jackson, who in 1783 became Dean of Christ Church,—a post which he retained for 26 years. He was made sub-preceptor to the princes in 1771, and died in possession of no preferment in 1819. Parr, Porteus, and all the scholars of his day, looked to him as to an authority that was not to be disputed. He enjoyed the distinction of twice declining to be elevated to the episcopal bench,—but it was when his habits of life were formed, his fortune large, his duty light, and his disinclination to assume enlarged responsibility not to be surmounted. He was 75 when he died. His statue in the Chapel at Christ Church was executed by Chantrey, after the excellent portrait in the Hall, by Owen.—D.

to the mystery affected by the King, but totally unfit to educate the Prince of Wales. Bishop Hurd had acquired a great name by several works of slender merit, was a gentle, plausible man, affecting a singular decorum that endeared him highly to devout old ladies.[8] Lord Ashburnham had been designated for Governor, as well as the last Earl of Bristol, if Lord Holderness had died; but the second had died, and the first had not made his court by cavilling at the lesser profit of Groom of the Stole compared with that of Master of the Great Wardrobe; and when the King had once taken an objection to him, he could but perceive how close, artful, and dangerous a man Lord Ashburnham was; and when once seen in that light, his signal ingratitude to his old patron the late Duke of Newcastle, whom he had shamefully, though his first favourite, abandoned, could but be recollected. Kings expect gratitude, whatever they feel. Lord Ailesbury protested he had not known anything of his designation till the 27th; and it was true the resolution had not been taken on the whole measure till the 26th at night, nor was Lord North or any of the Ministers acquainted with the general resolution till the 27th, which equally surprised the Court and the town.

On the 31*st* Lord and Lady Holderness were with Lord and Lady Hertford in the evening, and the two latter gave me this account after supper, adding, they were persuaded the affair had gone much farther than they were acquainted with, and I found they knew even more than

[8] Hurd, the son of a Staffordshire farmer, died Bishop of Worcester in 1808. He was a good deal to Warburton what Boswell was to Johnson. He had the bad taste to allow his own name to be attached to the 'Observations on Hume's Natural History of Religion,' written by Warburton; but he also had the good sense to decline the primacy when it was offered to him in 1783. "I am glad he did not go to Lambeth," said Dr. Johnson, "for after all I fear he is a Whig in his heart."—D.

they told. Lord Holderness, who had had a violent humour in his face, which struck in and had fallen on his hearing and his breast, had been to seek relief in the South of France, whence he had returned in the last autumn, a little mended in his health, but still very deaf. On his return he found great prejudices had been instilled into the mind of his pupils the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburgh, against him; and it had grown so bad that from last November they had treated his authority with contempt, and often ridiculed him to his face. This he imputed to Jackson. I asked if Prince Frederick, who was thought a great favourite, had behaved as ill as the Prince, who it was known had a high spirit, as I had guessed two or three years before from Lord Holderness affecting to say how tractable he was. Lord Hertford said, "Oh! Prince Frederick has gone the farthest, and has been the instrument to inflame his brother." This was artful, as more indirect. I said I heard everybody had observed the day before that the King was much fallen away, and looked very ill. Both Lord and Lady Hertford cried out, "Nobody can tell what he has suffered for six weeks;" and Lord Hertford added, "Think what he must feel at finding already that his son is so headstrong that he has not the least authority over him!" I said I heard the Prince was extremely in awe of the Queen. He replied, "Faith! I believe he is in awe of neither." He told me the Bishop of Chester was sorely suspected of being at the bottom of this plot, and was a very ambitious man; and that the King had nothing left but to get rid of him and Jackson. The Bishop of Chester had ambitioned the Bishopric of Winchester on the next vacancy, and had been more than once told that he was not to expect it. Jackson had been taken

from Oxford with a marvellous character for parts and learning; but I believe his monarchic principles had been a greater recommendation. Lord Holderness, though so good a courtier, had recommended Smelt, a thorough Revolution Whig; and had placed two other persons of the same principles about the Prince—one Budé, a Swiss Protestant, and Salgas, mentioned lower in the text. Jackson's pension was continued to him, and it was said the Bishop was promised a better bishopric; however he was very open in his conversation against Lord Holderness, and represented him as most trifling and unfit for his late charge. Both Markham and Jackson had been the choice of Lord Mansfield, and I did not think it very prudent to choose Dr. Hurd, another professed creature of Mansfield; but it was the maxim of the King to cajole all he parted with or disliked, and, between hypocrisy and timidity, he generally attempted to soothe those he discarded. I said I still did not understand why Lord Holderness had resigned when his enemies were removed! Lord Hertford said the King had used all manner of entreaties with him to remain; but Lord Holderness answered that the only service he could do his Majesty farther was to retire. This spoke the aversion of the Prince, and how far he had carried his disobedience. To mark approbation of the Earl, the King immediately made his son-in-law, the Marquis of Caermarthen,[9] Lord of his Bedchamber, in the room of Lord Bruce. He offered a pension too to Smelt, who, with his usual incorruptible virtue, declined it. "Why," said the King; "you have but a small fortune?" "Enough, Sir," said he, "to keep me independent;" and he absolutely refused any

[9] Only son of the Duke of Leeds. He married Lady Amelia Darcy, the Earl's only child. On the King's birthday the Queen gave Lady Holderness a bracelet of her hair set with diamonds.

premium—following his patron the Earl, who, it is justice to say, acted wisely and handsomely to the King in his retreat. Lord Hertford told me besides, that Salgas, son of a French refugee, and one of the Prince's tutors, insisted on retiring, too, from the ungovernable temper of the Prince. All his servants, even to valets-de-chambre, were changed.

Yet even these wounds could not be closed before another ridiculous incident happened. Lord Bruce had barely taken possession of his post, and dined once with the Prince, when he suddenly retired into the country, and, it was said, even without giving notice or taking leave. The Bishop of Lichfield was left to inform the King that the Governor did not mean to return. It was given out that his wife,[1] who was at the Bath, and mad, had written to him to say it would kill her if he accepted an employment that would deprive her of so much of his company. In fact Lord Bruce did quit as suddenly as I have said, and then the King pitched upon his eldest brother, the Duke of Montagu, one of the weakest and most ignorant men living, for Governor to the Princes. The late Duchess,[2] his wife, had often lamented, with tears, in his presence, that he was not fit for any of the great offices of State.

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[1] Daughter of Mr. Hoare of Stourhead, and widow of Lord Dungarvon, eldest son of the Earl of Cork and Orrery.

[2] Lady Mary Montagu, younger daughter of John Duke of Montagu, and wife of George Brudenel Earl of Cardigan, created Duke of Montagu.

JUNE.

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3rd. THE wind, which had long been easterly, turning to the west, much intelligence came in from America that raised the desponding spirits of the Court. They had received, or said they had received, accounts that General Worster and Colonel Arnold had determined to make another attack on Quebec before any succours should arrive there, and had accordingly attempted to storm it, but had been repulsed with the loss of 1300 men. A New York Gazette was reported as having been sent over, which said General Lee had been taken prisoner by General Clinton in Carolina, and accused him of having given himself up by treachery; but the story was a very blind one. Other letters said General Howe was safely arrived at Halifax with his army; General Washington was reported to be in disgrace with the Congress; and their Admiral Hopkins was said to be beaten and disgraced with two or three frigates by a single ship. The courtiers exulted extremely on this cargo of good news, and the King behaved with great levity. Still the intelligence was so vague or dubious, that not one of the above articles was mentioned in the Gazette, and Lord North had the prudence, on being asked about the good news at his public dinner on the King's birthday, to reply, "We have heard all this, but have no certain intelligence;" and the Attorney-General asking him if he had a plan ready on the submission of America, he answered, "I

believe we shall have time enough to form one before that time comes."

Lord Hyde [1] was created Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Trevor [2] Viscount Hampden. These peers had been connected with George Grenville, and were supposed to owe their promotions to Lord Suffolk, the patron of that connection. Lord Hyde was so dull a man that Lord John Cavendish said with a sneer, "The Ministers have made a rebellion, and now they have made a Lord Clarendon to write the history of it."

The King, reviewing the Blues, to pique General Conway their colonel, found great fault with the officers very unjustly, and said, "I wish I could see the Blues behave as well as they used to do." Mr. Conway replied he was sorry his officers were blamed only to mortify him.

All the servants of the Prince of Wales down to the valets-de-chambre were changed. Colonel George Hotham, nephew of the Earl of Buckingham, was appointed Sub-Governor, and Mr. Arnold, of St. John's College, Cambridge, a celebrated tutor, and chaplain to Bishop Hurd, was made Sub-Preceptor.

The Earl of Harcourt's three years in Ireland being expired, the Lord-Lieutenancy was offered to Lord Rochford, but he declined it, not liking to reside there three years. It was also offered to and refused by the Duke of Marlborough. The Earls of Hillsborough and Buckingham were candidates for it, but, for what reason I know not, Lord Harcourt was desired to stay there another year. The new Parliament there was chosen.

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[1] Thomas Villiers, younger brother of the last Earl of Jersey, had married Lady Charlotte Capel, eldest daughter of William Anne Earl of Essex, by the eldest daughter of the last Earl of Clarendon and Rochester.

[2] Robert Trevor Hampden, formerly Minister at the Hague, and father-in-law of the Earl of Suffolk.

The frigate that had fought with Admiral Hopkins and his squadron came into Portsmouth, and it appeared that Hopkins's men had not manœuvred so ably as those of the frigate, and that the latter had outsailed and got away from them.

About the same time came a confirmation[3] of the raising the siege of Quebec, with a very unintelligible ostentatious letter from General Carleton, in which it appeared that, having received 200 recruits by the Isis, he had sallied out, and found the Provincials preparing to raise the siege on the sight of the Isis and other ships with General Burgoyne and the Brunswickers. Carleton said the Provincials had immediately fled and left all their cannon and stores, but with no account of any slaughter he had made, as the first letters had said. However this seemed to speak the Provincials a rabble without military discipline, and much alarmed the friends of liberty. It as greatly raised the spirits of the King and Court, who now talked of nothing but reducing the Americans to a state of never rebelling again. The wind too had been so long in the east, that it was probable the Hessians would arrive in America by the end of June; and it was much doubted whether the Americans would be able to make any stand against regular forces. Washington was thought to have been in the wrong to have preferred the safety of Boston to attacking Howe's army. The American islands were certainly in great want of provisions; but if the Americans took many prizes, they lost full as many ships of their own. It was believed even by Americans here that the King's troops might subsist during the winter in Virginia;

[3] The Americans were said to have defeated the Regulars in Carolina, who had been very troublesome to them, and to have taken 1500 stand of arms sent by Government to Governor Martin; but all advantages of the Americans were carefully concealed.

and these their friends trusted not much to any effectual stand but in New England. The best chance of the Americans was by protracting the war, and drawing the King's armies up into the country. It was hoped too that the Hessians would be seduced by their German brethren; but upon the whole, the superior artillery and fleet of the Royalists, and the inexperience of the Americans, filled the friends of liberty with gloomy apprehensions.

8*th*. General Smith and Mr. Brand Hollis were carried to the King's Bench, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1000 marks.

At the end of the month came on the cause between Mr. Sayer and Lord Rochford, when the jury gave damages of 1000*l*. to the former.

The Irish Parliament having expired, there were great contests at the new elections, and the American war was so unpopular in that country, that the Court met with sturdy opposition. However, it carried the speaker Perry by a large majority; yet two Court bills were rejected, and then the Parliament, having only met for form, was prorogued.

A very different spirit reigned here. One Hays, and other young lawyers, wrote pamphlets against liberty, and the young Earl of Winchelsea, going to Portsmouth to take leave of Captain Fielding, his brother-in-law, embarked with him as a volunteer for America. In the mean time Lord North's friends grew very sick of Lord G. Germaine's assuming ascendant. The King, whether from the humour in his blood, or vexation from the Prince, visibly wasted and looked very ill. The Prince was evidently very quick, and had actually, by pumping a groom who rode out with the King, found out who was to be his Governor.

JULY.

WILKES had stood again for Chamberlain of the City; but whether the money of the Court prevailed, or that the citizens were offended at his attempting such an innovation, though the place was only voted from year to year, he lost it on the first of the month, after a poll of several days, by a majority against him of 1196.

2*nd*. The Gazette declared the promotion to higher titles of twelve Irish peers, and the creation of eighteen new. Thirty creations at once was more than had ever been made, even at the beginning of a reign. It was a mob of nobility. The King in private laughed much at the eagerness for such insignificant honours.

The promotions and creations were as follows:—Viscount Lisburne, Viscount Ligonier, and Lord Clanwilliam, were raised to Earls of the same name; Viscount Clare was made Earl Nugent, and Viscount Crosbie Earl of Glandore.

The dignity of Viscount of the kingdom of Ireland was conferred on Thomas Southwell, by title of Viscount Southwell, of Castle Mattress, in the county of Limerick; the Right Honourable Thomas Baron Knapton, by the title of Viscount de Vesci, of Abbeyleix, in the Queen's County; the Right Honourable William Willoughby, Baron Mount Florence, by the title of Viscount Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh; the Right Honourable Francis Baron Orwell, by the title of Viscount Orwell; the Right Honourable John Baron Baltinglass, by the title of Vis-

count Aldborough, of the Palatinate of Upper Ormond; the Right Honourable William Henry Baron Clermont, by the title of Viscount Clermont, of Clermont, in the county of Louth, with remainder of Viscount and Baron unto the Right Honourable James Fortescue, of Ravensdale Park, in the county of Louth, brother to the said Lord Clermont; the Right Honourable William Henry Baron Dawson, by the title of Viscount Carlow, in the county of Carlow.

The dignity of Baron of the kingdom of Ireland to them and their heirs male unto—

The Right Honourable Thomas Maude, Baronet, by the title of Baron de Montalt of Hawarden, in the county of Tipperary; the Right Honourable Sir George Macartney, by the title of Baron Macartney of Lissanoure, in the county of Antrim; the Right Honourable Sir Archibald Acheson, Baronet, by the title of Baron Gosford of Market Hill, in the county of Armagh.

The Right Honourable Ralph Howard, by the title of Baron Clonmore, of Clonmore Castle, in the county of Carlow; Sir Richard Philipps, Baronet, by the title of Baron Milford; Sir Thomas Wynn, Baronet, by the title of Baron Newborough of Newborough; Sir Charles Bingham, by the title of Baron Lucan, of Castlebar, in the county of Mayo; Sir Alexander Macdonald, by the name of Baron Macdonald, of Slate, in the county of Antrim; Sir William Mayne, Baronet, by the title of Baron Newhaven, of Carrick Mayne, in the county of Dublin; James Agar, Esq., by the title of Baron of Clisden, in the county of Kilkenny; William Edwardes, Esq., by the title of Baron Kensington; William Henry Lyttelton, Esq., by the title of Baron Westcote, of Balamare, in the county of Longford; Robert Henry Ongley, Esq., by the title of Baron Ongley, of Old Warden, in Ireland.

Molyneux Shuldham, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, by the title of Baron Shuldham.

John Bourke, Esq., of Palmerstown, in the county of Kildare, by the title of Baron Naas, of Naas, in the said county.

Sentleger Sentleger, Esq., by the title of Baron Doneraile, of Doneraile, in the county of Cork; Clotworthy Upton, Esq., by the title of Baron Templetown, in the county of Antrim; Hugh Massey, Esq., by the title of Baron Massey, of Duntrylergue, in the county of Limerick.

The Red Riband was given to General Carleton for his defence of Quebec, which he had maintained against the opinion of his officers. Lord George Germaine strongly opposed this reward.

13*th*. General Conway had a slight paralytic stroke in his face, occasioned by catching cold.

The month passed with no other news than General Howe with his forces having sailed from Halifax on the 10th of June, till the three or four last days, when the Court heard that nine Jamaicamen, richly loaded, had been taken by two or three American privateers.[1] At the same time came a letter from General Carleton with an account of having driven the Americans out of St. John's, Chamblee, and Montreal, after a bold attack on their part, but from which they fled with great precipitation on finding him so well prepared. By this means the King became again master of all Canada. Carleton's letter was very obscure and ill written; and it is not improbable that Lord George Germaine, out of hatred, had suffered it to

[1] A very rich ship laden with ammunition and provisions had been delivered up to the Americans by the Captain, who was an American, and for trusting whom Lord Sandwich was much blamed. The ship was very valuable and of great importance to the losers and gainers.

appear in that rude manner. Carleton had been so offended at the preference of Christie to his own brother, that, trusting to his great services, he had taken so bold a step as to overlook the King's nomination of Christie, and send him up into the country, and appoint his own brother Quartermaster-General. At the same time he would not deign to inform Lord George of his farther designs, which were to prepare to pass the Lakes. This the Ministers learnt from Sir William Douglas.[2]

29*th.* Advice that General Howe was off Halifax, but had not been joined by his brother.

A letter of Lord George Germaine, with severe orders, having been intercepted, General Lee ordered Governor Eden to be seized, but he escaped. The Congress was angry at Lee.

In this month Don Lewis, youngest brother of the King of Spain, and formerly Cardinal, being in love with a Dutch lady, and insisting on marrying her in spite of the King, his Majesty at last yielded upon condition of not allowing her to rank as Princess of the Blood.

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[2] General Carleton issued a most humane order, inviting the wounded Provincials to come and be taken care of, and promising to send them to their homes when recovered.

AUGUST.

10*th*. CAME letters from General Howe with accounts of his having landed his troops, after a passage of three weeks, on Staten Island without molestation; but that he had learned from Governor Tryon that a battery of 100 pieces was erected to defend New York towards the sea, and that a very numerous army of Provincials, strongly intrenched, were posted near. On this report the General had thought it prudent to wait for the junction of his brother General Clinton, but that he was preparing to send a naval force up the river. He informed the Government that the Congress had declared all the provinces independent; had seized Franklin, Governor of Jersey; and condemned the Mayor of New York to be hanged for corresponding with Tryon, but had not executed him. Howe boasted of having been joined by 60 men, Provincials, and of expecting 500 more. I was told by good authority that the Government had suppressed several disagreeable circumstances, and indeed the above were far from favourable to them.

21*st*. An express from General Clinton brought advice of the total failure of the attempt on Charles Town. The Ministers had boasted that a fifty-gun ship had been got over the bar there, which had always been thought impossible. The forces under General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis had landed on Long Island, where they had been told the pass was fordable. They found it very deep and could not act. The fleet under Sir Peter Parker attacked

a fort between them and the town. The Provincials received and repulsed them with great bravery—burnt a man-of-war, on board of which the Admiral was, who himself was wounded in six places; the Captain, the Lieutenant, and 200 men were killed; and the Royalists were forced to burn a store-ship lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

The same day the famous Chevalier Deon appeared before Lord Mansfield, on a complaint of having sent a challenge to one Morande, an infamous wretch who had fled from France for having written a most scandalous libel, the "Gazettier cuirassé." Deon avowed being a woman. The best account I could collect of the Chevalier was as follows:[1]—The Duc de Choiseul, I know, believed

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[1] There is no longer any mystery connected with the story of d'Eon. He was of a good French family, and was born in 1728. He was an excellent scholar, soldier, and political intriguer. It was in the service of Louis XV. that he went to Russia in female attire, obtained employment as "lectrice" or female reader to the Czarina Elizabeth, and under that disguise carried on political and semi-political negotiations with wonderful audacity and success. At a subsequent period he returned to Russia in male costume, describing himself as the brother of the Czarina's lectrice. He wrote well, plotted well, and fought well. In 1762 he appeared in England as Secretary of Embassy to the Duke de Nivernois. It was during his residence here that he accused De Guerchy, during the embassy of the latter, who had attempted to place him in a subordinate post after he had temporarily exercised the office of Minister Plenipotentiary, of a design to poison him. The accusation was deemed well founded, but a *nolle prosequi* saved De Guerchy from all earthly penalty, save contempt. D'Eon continued to reside here, the active diplomatic agent of the French Court, and protected by his Sovereign, even when the latter appeared to yield to his enemies. Louis XVI. granted him a pension; and when he went over to Versailles to return thanks for the favour, Marie Antoinette insisted on his assuming woman's attire. To gratify this foolish whim d'Eon one day swept into the royal presence decked like a duchess, and supported the character to the great delight of the royal and noble spectators. After thus masquerading for some time he returned to England in 1784; and being here in 1789, after the Revolution was accomplished, the Convention deprived him of his pension, and placed his name in the fatal list of *émigrés*. From the English Government he received a pension of 200*l*. a year, but his extravagant style of living involved him in debt and distress. In his old days he turned his fencing capabilities to account, appearing in matches with the famous Chevalier de St. George, and permanently reassuming female attire. This strange personage died in 1810; when an inspection of the body by several medical men, in presence of the Père Elisée, who attended for Louis XVIII., was followed by a public certificate that the chevalier was an old man. He died at the age of eighty-two.—D.

it was a woman. After the death of Louis XV. Deon had leave to go to France, on which the young Comte de Guerchy went to M. de Vergennes, Secretary of State, and gave him notice that the moment Deon landed at Calais, he, Guerchy, would cut his throat, or Deon should cut his; on which Vergennes told the Count that Deon was certainly a woman. Louis XV., though so indolent, had long secretly employed the Comte de Broglie, brother of the Marshal, to get him intelligence from all parts of Europe, for which the Count had a pension, and the King corresponded with the Count unknown to his Ministers, and but seldom spoke to him. Even when the Count was exiled on his quarrel with the Duke d'Aiguillon, the King still wrote to him. His Majesty went much farther; for when the Duc de Choiseul had sent a vessel, which lay six months in the Thames, to trepan and bring off Deon, the King wrote a letter with his own hand to give him warning of the vessel.

The Duke of Portland carried his suit finally against Sir James Lowther.

The Ministers were exceedingly dismayed at the failure at Charles Town, which was much worse than they had owned, and thoroughly disgraceful. The Duke of Newcastle went to Lord North at Bushy Park, to lament the miscarriage at Charles Town, and to inquire into his cousin Clinton's behaviour; but finding Lord North treat the affair with his usual indifference and jollity, took notice of it to him. "Faith, my Lord," said Lord North, "if fretting would make me thin, I would be as sorry as your Grace; but since it will not have that effect, I bear it as well as I can." Clinton and Parker were much blamed; but it was seen now that there was little prospect of finishing the war this year, and the expense was so enor-

mous that it could not be borne for another. It was now in their own mouths that, unless Howe succeeded at New York, the Ministry must be changed. Great mismanagement and profusion was attributed to Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germaine complained to the King of his disposition of the fleet. The Commodore at Boston had quitted the place and gone to Halifax: it was said in his behalf that he was obliged to go thither for water; yet, Lord Howe meeting him at sea, and asking him why he had abandoned Boston, he replied he had been annoyed by batteries. Lord Howe answered, "In the last war he sought batteries, not avoided them."

SEPTEMBER.

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4th. GOVERNOR EDEN arrived in town from America. On being forced by the Provincials to leave his government of Maryland, he had taken refuge with Lord Dunmore at Gwynn's Island, where the Virginians attacked the latter, and drove them to their ships, which the Provincials then cannonaded, and obliged three men-of-war to bear away, after burning some schooners, for fear they should fall into the hands of the Provincials. Lord Dunmore went to another island, where he met with the same treatment. Eden added that the Americans had thirteen new frigates of twenty-six guns each ready to launch, and that Admiral Hopkins was gone in search of the West-India homeward-bound fleet.

At the same time came letters from Carleton, that he was delayed from crossing the lakes by being obliged to build batteaux. He had refused to admit five hundred Indians who had come and offered themselves, and sent them back. This was said to be from a principle of humanity, and that his refusal would make them join the Provincials.

It was said that the latter had demolished Crown Point, but meant to defend Ticonderoga. I was told that our fleet had threatened to burn New York if attempted to be fortified; but General Lee had sent the Commander word that he would take all the King's friends in New York, and set them in the front line if the ships attempted to disturb them, on which they desisted, and he fortified the place. Eden was knighted.

The Court was greatly dismayed. It was said in private letters that the Provincials had attacked Clinton in his retreat, and cut off numbers of his men. Clinton had endeavoured to dissuade Parker from the attempt, and had sent over a defence of himself, but it was not published, and Lord George Germaine was much abused for suppressing it. The Court, at least some, had thoughts of a change, and wished for the Duke of Grafton. Rigby went to him, but was coldly received. Lady Hertford owned to me she wished to see the Duke and General Conway ministers. I had the satisfaction of having Dr. Hunter, Queen's man midwife and favourite, say to me, "How the poor Scotch will be abused! I think General Conway must go to America and make peace." Sir Gilbert Elliot talked of retiring, at least of not attending Parliament, on pretence of ill health.

16*th.* Died Jeremy Dyson, on whom this epitaph was made,—

> "To the grave see Republican Jerry descend,
> A prerogative tool and his Majesty's friend;
> Yet it ought not our wonder, but laughter to move,
> That the son of a taylor a turncoat should prove."

Stanley was appointed Cofferer in Dyson's room, and Sir Alexander Gilmour[1] brought into Parliament; he was a Scot. Lord Carlisle had just chosen one of Sir G. Elliot's sons for Morpeth.

The Ministers had certain intelligence that one Deane, agent from the American Congress, was at Versailles.

20*th.* A ship arrived at Clyde brought an account that Lord Howe had joined his brother, and that they intended to attack New York immediately.

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[1] This was designed, for Lord North wrote in his favour to Lord Irwin, to whom belonged the borough of Horsham, but he would not consent.

23*rd*. Lord North broke his arm by a fall from his horse.

Account of seven ships from the Straits taken by the Provincials.

25*th*. Advice that Lord Howe had, in the middle of July, sent a letter to Washington for treaty, which the latter refused to receive because his titles were omitted: the Congress thanked Washington.

27*th*. Letters from Quebec; contents kept secret. Some said Carleton had sent word his boats would be ready in ten days, others that he must lay aside his plan till next year. The Hessians had not joined him till the 15th of August.[2] General Carleton would not correspond with Lord George Germaine.

Letters from officers at New York said they were negotiating, and that peace was expected; but on the

28*th*, a Major Reade, who had sold out, arrived with letters from General Howe, that all treaty was at an end, that he had got Clinton and all his reinforcements; and Reade said he thought news of a battle might have got here before him. Provincials had melted the statue of the King for bullets, and called him *the late King*.

Letters from the Howes. Lord Howe, after refusing the title of General to Washington, submitted to give it to him on pretence of treating for the exchange of prisoners. These letters, however, said that all negotiation was at an end, and that two 50-gun ships that had passed above New York had been beaten back, and narrowly escaped being burnt by the fireships of the Provincials.

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[2] It was kept as a great secret, but it was certain that General Carleton's letters, that arrived on the 25th, had said that he was obliged to abandon his enterprize for this year.

It was given out that the attempt on New York would still be made, but it was doubted.

Woolridge, who had been set up for sheriff, declined it, pleading in his public speech to the Livery of London that he was a bankrupt by the American war, and he taxed Lord Dunmore of having seized a ship of his, which the Admiralty Court had declared not legal capture.

OCTOBER.

The Ministers were quite in despair at the unprosperous state of their affairs. The King could not disguise his concern, which increased his indisposition; and at the reviews every body remarked his uneasiness, and how much he was fallen away. It was thought that Lord North had a mind to resign; and at the beginning of the month the King and Queen went to him at Bushy, and staid with him three hours, as it was supposed, to prevail on him not to quit. They complained exceedingly of General Carleton for dilatoriness, and for persisting not to write a syllable to Lord George Germaine. They were astonished at not hearing from General Howe, who, it was said, had sent them word he would make his attack on the 26th of August. A ship arrived at Nantes in France had spread a report that the attack had been made, and that Howe had beaten the Provincials, and killed 6000, but that Washington had rallied his troops, and driven back the royal army, of which he had killed 5000;

but, as these actions were said to have happened on the 15th of August, the report soon lost ground. All these alarms were at last dispelled; for on the

10*th*, by three in the morning, General Howe's first aide-de-camp arrived at Lord George Germaine's with an account that much changed the state of affairs, and filled the Court with an extravagance of joy, which they displayed with the utmost ostentation. The whole army being assembled, which it was thought amounted to about 28,000 men (though said to be more by the Royalists), and the fleet, General Howe attacked Long Island on the 22nd of August, and landed without opposition. And it was said (though not mentioned in the 'Gazette') that he had caused the fleet to make a movement which had deceived the Provincials; and it was added, that on the 26th he had ordered his first parties to retreat, which encouraging the Provincials to pursue in the dark, they found themselves in the morning of the 27th, when the general attack was made, entirely enveloped, and fled. Certain it was that the Provincials, who were to the amount of 10,000 on the island, which was strongly fortified, made no resistance, but fled in precipitation. The island was entirely taken, with the loss of only 60 killed and 250 wounded. Of the Provincials 3000 were taken, killed, wounded, or drowned in the morass; and though the Court endeavoured to stifle it, it was soon known that the Hessians had committed great butchery, and refused to give any quarter. Lord Stirling[1] and two other general officers of the Provincials were taken prisoners with their artillery and stores, but they had burnt the corn on the island. In the King's troops there was a Paoli; if a nephew of the Corsican

[1] A claimant rather to the title, which had been extinct since 1739.—D.

general, it showed what an infamous wretch he was, who had accepted a pension from the English Crown, which had abandoned his countrymen, and who now sent a relation to invade the Americans, who were fighting for their liberty as his countrymen had done.

The letters said that they learnt from the prisoners that there were 4000 sick in New York, and that there were great dissensions among the New Englanders and New Yorkists—the former insisting on the town being given up to them, which the latter concluding was with the intention to burn it, had refused; and General Howe could discover from Long Island great numbers leaving the town, which he imagined were the New Englanders. His letters said, too, that the Provincials intended to make their stand at King's Bridge, 14½ miles from New York through a country of passes.

This made a very great alteration, particularly from the bad behaviour of the Provincials, and sounded very ill after so haughty a rejection of peace, and all the extremities they had gone to. It was most probable that the New Yorkists, who would not let their houses be burnt, would submit to recover them; and it seemed a fatal measure, that they had not burnt the town previously, and endeavoured to draw the Royalists up into the country. Now it might be expected that the Royalists in every province would exert themselves, and, profiting by the panic, preach up submission, of their being ready for which symptoms enough already appeared. All the inhabitants of Long Island immediately offered to take the oaths to the King; and the next morning after the victory they brought in 8000 head of cattle to the army, which was in the utmost want of fresh provisions. The people, weary of the paper-money of the Congress, were glad to take General Howe's

dollars.[2] Thus was a capital blow given to the war; and news even came by a ship to Ireland, that sailed on September the 4th, two days after Howe's letter, the captain of which said he had heard a cannonading for twelve hours, which then ceased, and he concluded Howe was in possession of New York. Lord Harcourt sent this account express from Ireland. The 'Gazette' came out the next day with great ostentation. The more moderate of the Anti-Americans hoped this blow would produce peace, but the extravagant joy of the Court gave no such prospect. Some already declared against restitution of the charters. It was not likely America, even if terrified into submission, could be maintained without an army, and for that, there was no doubt, they would make the Americans pay,—two circumstances that would for ever keep America from being flourishing and commercial as it had been. Its independence had been the source of invitation and riches. The country gentlemen would expect indemnification for the increase of the land-tax, and yet the vast sums still necessary to be raised, will sooner increase their burthens—and if a new debt of ten or twelve millions is to be incurred, the Court may be triumphant, but the nation is but more undone—and the army and fleet, that must at least winter another season in America, will but make us still more unprepared for a foreign war.

The savage behaviour of the Hessians was the reverse of what had been expected. It was foretold that being German Protestants, they would join their brethren in America, and be tempted by offers of settlements.

[2] By what was called the Tender Law, Congress had declared that the paper dollars formed a legal tender for payment, or in satisfaction of a debt offered by a debtor to a creditor. The difference between the value of this paper representative and the actual coin was at last so great, that 1000 paper dollars were only accounted equal to a single silver dollar. The Congress ultimately abolished this ruinous law.—D.

Some of the junto expressed joy at the probability of New York being saved. The Bedfords, on the contrary, had long ago vapoured that it would be right to destroy their towns, and that America was so powerful it ought to be put back fifty years.[3]

Howe's letters notified that the Provincials had sent an army against Halifax.

The King immediately determined to send a red riband to General Howe. An extraordinary one was to be sent to him; but Lord Onslow dying on the 9th, his was given: at the same time Lord Lothian had Lord Cathcart's vacant green riband.

The Mayor and Corporation of York voted an address to the King on the victory at Long Island. This showed the incapacity of Lord Rockingham to be at the head of an Opposition. He had last year neglected to get an address against the war from the county of York, where he had the greatest influence.

19*th.* Lord Mansfield was created an Earl, with reversion to Lord Stormont. This reversion seemed contrary to the acceptation of the Union, but the Scots were enough in favour now to leap over any bounds that opposed them; and this earldom being taken now showed the victory at Long Island had surmounted all Lord Mansfield's panics, and implied that he chose to be thought now the chief author of the American war, as I believe he was.

22*nd.* The differences between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, occasioned by hostilities committed in America by a Portuguese Governor, and which were thought to be compromised, appeared, after long negotiation, not to be settled. An account came this day that a Spanish fleet

[3] This has been previously set down as the maxim of Rigby.—D.

was sailed, and that the Portuguese were raising men as fast as possible. The Stocks immediately fell. The Portuguese, to engage our protection against Spain, had taken strong part with us against our colonies; and that perhaps tempted the Spaniards the more to break with them. France had, or pretended to have, recommended peace; but France continued to arm, in the warmest manner, both by sea and land. Neither Spain nor France quite liked the precedent of our colonies setting up for themselves; but that was a distant danger, and we seemed to offer them too many advantages to be resisted: the perishing of our fleet in America, our being stripped of men, the debts we were contracting, the nakedness of Ireland, Spain's prospect of recovering Jamaica, France's hopes of ravishing the East Indies from us and our American trade, with the loss France suffered by our war in their tobacco, which they might engross by protecting our colonies, and the as fair chance of recovering Canada,—all these views must surmount the distant apprehension of their colonies rebelling. France, indeed, had a most easy game to play. Our Ministers desired nothing but to be deceived; that is, assurances of not countenancing the colonies, which they gave, while they gave all manner of countenance to them; and now, at the very moment that the Spanish fleet sailed, M. de Noailles arrived here their new Ambassador.

23*rd*. It was spread that a ship arrived at Bristol had brought an account that the Americans had abandoned New York, and had retired to King's Bridge to make their stand. In the evening a person pasted up in Lloyd's Coffee House notice that the "Bristol" was arrived in the River with Admiral Shuldham, who brought the same account, and that Howe was within connon-shot of the

Americans. Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, wrote this account to a rich Jew merchant, and added the Provincials were 70,000 strong. Bells were rung and guns fired to confirm this, but not a word was true; and it appeared to have been an artifice to keep up the Stocks, which, however, did not succeed, for they continued falling.

26*th.* An embargo laid on Ireland and proclamation for seamen.

28*th.* Warrants issued for pressing seamen.[4] The Government was certainly afraid of a war with France, and hoped to stop it by these preparations. The differences between Spain and Portugal were certainly not adjusted, and, the French said, from the obstinacy of the latter.

31*st.* The Parliament met. The King's Speech was evasive and far from firm. With regard to America, it charged all on the ambition of their leaders, and said, artfully, their having declared independence must unite everybody at home. It mentioned the success at Canada and New York, and said the latter gave the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences, though at all events another campaign would be necessary. As to foreign affairs, the King said *he continued* to receive

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[4] Pressgangs were now actively engaged in "a hot press." In London alone, in less than a month, 800 men were "pressed." The streets were swept of all who could not give a good account of themselves; the ships in the river were stripped of all except master's mate and the boys. Lives were lost, "as usual," add the papers of the day, from which I gather these facts. I read of a lieutenant of the Navy "shot dead," which was not so usual on the side of the pressers. The latter even laid hands on John Tubbs, the "City Waterman," who claimed exemption by right of his office. The case was solemnly argued in the King's Bench, and being decided against him, Tubbs was forced to go to sea. The general distress too was severely felt at this time; a time ill-chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury to go before the same tribunal as John Tubbs, and claim exemption of Lambeth Palace from being rated for the relief of the poor! *This* claim was allowed.—D.

assurances of amity from the several Courts of Europe (this was cold indeed!), and was using his utmost endeavours to conciliate the differences between Spain and Portugal, yet thought it expedient to be in a respectable state of defence at home. An address, applauding all the late measures, was moved by Mr. Neville Aldworth, jun., and Mr. Hallow Finch, two young men. The first said, the independence of the Americans was in the hands and the abhorrence of everybody, but they would be taught the value of government from the want of it. This was a war not of ambition but necessity, and we were fighting for the value of all our former triumphs. The Opposition had prepared a counter-address, as their own protest, condemning all the late measures. Lord Granby was to have moved it, but his youthful diffidence got the better, and he gave it to Lord John Cavendish, who moved it, and said he never knew a crisis so interesting: we were now in a more melancholy situation than at the meeting of Parliament last year. The whole strength of this country had been tried, and had only produced a declaration of independence. He owned it surpassed his wisdom to know what was to be done. He would propose recapitulating past errors. We ought not coolly to take advantage of a moment of victory to increase our demands. The idea of marching through the Continent of America was absurd. The expense and love of money were the paltry consideration and the cause of these unhappy differences. Distant provinces, with their minds alienated, would be a burthen and not a benefit. Were not the army and fleet now in America at the mercy of the French? The prejudices as well as the rights of a people ought to have been attended to. Lord Granby seconded him. Mr. Whitmore, usually a courtier, spoke for the Opposition; asked if the

Houses had any terms to propose to the Americans?—if they had, what terms? Were the present measures Lord North's, or were they forced upon him? Governor Johnston made a very warm speech, and appealed to the House whether he ought to alter his principles when all he had foretold was come to pass? The declaration of independence had been a case of necessity. Would not they also call in foreign assistance? He urged the Ministers (and so did others in both Houses, though without a reply) with the open residence at Paris of Silas Deane, the agent for the Colonies. Washington's business was to gain time. The Marquis de Pombal, Minister of Portugal, exceeded Machiavel in art; the whole quarrel was a blind. Why should Spain attack their settlements, when she could immediately march into their country? The Speech from the Throne was full of hypocrisy. General Gage had published a proclamation against hypocrisy; he wished he would execute it on his Majesty's Ministers. What gorged contractor, what fawning courtier, or new-made peer would assert that the Americans stood upon equal liberty with us? The press for seamen was carried on with the greatest barbarity—several lives had been lost. This, Wombwell, a merchant attached to Lord Sandwich, denied—said only one life had been lost, and that the preparations for war were popular in the City. Wilkes said the pressgangs did not dare to enter the City, from the well-known love of liberty in the present Chief Magistrate, Sawbridge. The Americans had been driven into independence by the obstinacy of the Administration. The Ministers had foretold it, but had no more reasons to plume themselves on the completion than the Jesuits, who prophesied Henry IV. would die within the year, and hired Ravaillac to murder him? There was no way of bringing

back the Americans to temper but by restoring their charters, repealing all the acts since 1762, and recalling the army. The Ministers sat silent, very indecently at such a moment, unless that they knew not what to say. T. Townshend, provoked at this behaviour, and seeing Lord North go down the House, started up and said he thought the noble Lord was going away, and had left the debate to secretaries and clerks to finish, and send him a list of the numbers when it was over. It was the first instance, he believed, of Ministers sitting silent till that time of night on a day of so much consequence! However, he hoped for some information, if they did not think themselves too great to be responsible. We had lost as many merchantmen as in a French and Spanish war. The 'Gazette,' on the affair of Charles Town, had been a libel on General Clinton. Men-of-war could not hinder an invasion; we wanted frigates at home and had none.

Lord North then rose with some apology.[5] He said Lord John had said we must carry America by the sword, or abandon it. No, *the first measure would be for some of the colonies to break off from the general confederacy.* He hoped to put an end to the troubles by vigour on one hand and moderation on the other. But Lord John's words would give the Americans fresh courage. He had been asked what was the state of foreign powers. The French had six sail-of-the-line, and four frigates ready to put to sea. But when he heard of their sending for their registered seamen all over their kingdom, he had thought it necessary to arm too. We had twenty-three guardships fitted out, and *partly* manned. He did not believe any hostile intention on the part of any foreign power; *that was*

[5] This speech alone was a full condemnation of the Ministry.

to say, now immediately. He hoped and trusted our armament was merely for precaution. His Majesty had no ambitious views, only to take from the Americans the hopes of foreign supply. But there was another charge, the hypocrisy in the speech—consisting in what? In his Majesty's wishes to restore America to the full enjoyment of law and liberty. The Acts restraining that country were made in consequence of the insults received. Happy was it for the gentlemen in Opposition that they were here where liberty exists; if in America, half as much said against the Congress would be punished. Colonel Barré said Lord North had not answered what terms had been offered to the Americans. Lord North replied the transaction had been published in the 'Gazette' from Lord Howe's letters. Barré then complained that his letters from America were stopped, and he asked Lord North whether any preparation of a particular sort was making, and whether Administration had any intelligence of it? (This looked as if he meant invasion.) Lord North had formerly said, "Let France and Spain both interfere, this country was ready to face them." Should Washington be beaten, he should not alter his opinion; liberty takes a great deal of killing. Twenty-three guardships and twelve others! they would not find men to man them; nor could a majority of both Houses beat the French. It was said we had made a treaty for 20,000 Russians, but the French would be within sound of that House, when some of those who voted for the measures of Government would be ready to die of the fright. Admiral Keppel said if he had been attended to last year we should not be in the situation he feared we were in now. Why were there not frigates on the coasts of France and Spain to secure our trade? It was not line-of-battle ships alone that could prevent an

invasion. Here, added he, I stand a Vice-Admiral, that has been forty years at sea—the only reward I have. Lord George Germaine said no man wished more than he did to see that brave Admiral employed. A cartel could not be had; rebels offered to exchange man for man. It was known the Legislative Power would be assembled at New York, and put at the peace of the King. He confessed crossing the lakes had taken up more time than he expected. Carleton's army consisted of 11,000 men; Howe's of 25,000. *He knew of no preparations on the coast of France.* The motion was rather a censure on Ministers and measures than a cure for them. The nearer the country was to unanimity the better. Must we ask leave of France and Spain to control our own colonies? *Not that he meant France intended to attack us.* What would become of their islands if America got the better of us? what of the Spanish continent? They might laugh perhaps at our present situation, but would not at the independence of the Americans. Charles Fox answered Lord George in one of his finest and most animated orations, and with severity to the answered person. He made Lord North's conciliatory proposition be read, which, he said, his Lordship seemed to have forgotten, and he declared he thought it better to abandon America than attempt to conquer it.

Mr. Gibbon, author of the 'Roman History,' a very good judge, and, being on the Court side, an impartial one, told me he never heard a more masterly speech than Fox's in his life; and he said he observed Thurlow and Wedderburne, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, complimenting which should answer it, and, at last, both declining it.

General Conway concluded the debate with very few

words. He said he rose simply to say it was so unusual to him to dissent to the address, that he wished to explain his reasons why he should be against it now. He could not be for it without a manifest contradiction of all those principles he had hitherto professed; at the same time that he should vote for the counter-address or amendment, he owned there were parts of it he did not like. The House divided at eleven at night on the amendment, which was rejected by 242 to 87. The Opposition then divided again on the Court-address, which was carried by 232 to 83, and at twelve they broke up.

The address in the Lords was moved by Lord Carlisle and Lord Radnor.[6] The Marquis of Rockingham offered the same counter-address that had been proposed in the other House by Lord John Cavendish, and was seconded by the Duke of Manchester. Lord Mountstewart, in a manly, becoming manner, defended Administration, and persisted in recommending reduction of the Colonies. The Duke of Richmond declaimed against corruption, said he would keep within Parliamentary grounds as far as he could, but the nation was so sold to the Crown, that nothing but the King's goodness prevented our being absolute slaves. He insisted that if, as the speech said, we still received amicable professions from France and Spain, we had as much reason to believe them this year as last; but pressing sailors and our other preparations showed we did not believe those professions any longer. He recommended peace with America, if it could be gotten, and called on Lord Sandwich for the state of our navy. Lord Sandwich said he saw no likelihood of foreign war, but we did not trust assurances any longer, because France

[6] I am not sure whether it was Lord Radnor or Lord Falconberg; I was told the former, the newspapers said the latter.

and Spain were arming: he vaunted much of our fleet and of his care of it. The Duke of Grafton spoke warmly on our defenceless situation, and Lord Shelburne with still more weight. He said he had been lately in France, and had seen their preparations; but, as they had admitted him into their seaports, he thought it would be acting like a spy, not like a gentleman, to mention what he had seen! He had even quitted one port abruptly where they had been too ready to give him full inspection! But of what was notorious to everybody he might speak; and then, after mentioning their great preparations, he enlarged on the great countenance shown to Silas Deane, and the open trade with the colonies. Lord Weymouth and Lord Bristol defended the Court and Admiralty. Lord Camden said not a word. The Court-address was carried by 82 to 26.

NOVEMBER.

2*nd*. At night General Howe's second aide-de-camp arrived with an account of his being in possession of New York from the 15th of September. General Washington had removed the sick, and had retired within his lines at King's Bridge. Howe had again deceived the Provincials by a feint manœuvre, and the Provincials certainly did not seem to have able generals. 3000 of them were repulsed with no considerable loss. On the 20th, some of the people of the Massachussets set fire to the town, and above a quarter of it was burnt before the flames could be extinguished. Two were taken and hanged, and died glorying in their exploit. It was said that this act had made very ill blood between the New Yorkists and the colony of Massachussets. The Court was mortified that nothing more was yet done; and I was told by very good authority that Howe had written that the lines were so strong he should attempt nothing farther till joined by the rest of the Hessians.

It is certain that Governor Tryon's letters were very unpromising; and one of the King's personal domestics said the King had received very unwelcome letters. Dr. Franklin, and two other leaders of the Congress, went to the Howes to treat. He asked them from whom they came? they said from the Independent States of America. "Then," said Lord Howe, "I cannot receive you." Yet it was said he did desire them to stay. Some thought they had come in hopes of being rejected, which might fix the people more firmly to them.

It is not improbable but the more pacific Proclamation noticed above might have been issued in consequence of sudden orders despatched from hence, in consequence of the letters received from General Howe on the 10th of August, in which he represented the strong position of the Americans, and of the account received on the 21st of the same month of the miscarriage at Charles Town, at which time the Court thought very ill of the affairs in America. The Proclamation was not issued till the 19th of September, and being so different from Lord Howe's first Proclamation, looked very much like new orders. A light frigate might in twenty-seven days, I believe, arrive at New York.

Sawbridge, the Lord Mayor, now quitted at the end of his year; having done nothing in his mayoralty remarkable, but not permitting the pressgangs at this time to enter the City. Sir Thomas Halifax succeeded him, and invited the Ministers to his feast, to which they had not been asked for *seven* years. Thus Wilkes by his imprudence, and by the folly of the Opposition, lost the City.

9th. The House of Commons voted 45,000 seamen, though they gave out that they did not believe there would be a war with France. Temple Luttrell abused Lord Sandwich outrageously, and pledged himself to the House to move an address to the King to remove him. He was defended by Lord North, the Attorney-General, the two members for Huntingdon, Lord Mulgrave and Wombwell.

In all this contest with America, the Presbyterians and other Dissenters, who could not but see the designs of the Court, and its notorious partiality to Roman Catholics, were entirely passive in England, being bribed or sold by their leaders. In Ireland they were not quite so quiet,

and I heard a person in very high office, and a great pretender to religion, say, that the Presbyterians were the worst subjects the King had, and that the Roman Catholics were better subjects.

13*th.* A new and most infamous paper was set up, and sold as the 'Morning Post.' Bates the clergyman, and author of the old one, prosecuted the printer, and got an injunction against him. Yet Bates, not content, took a most extraordinary step. He sent about the town a procession of thirty or forty persons, dressed expensively, like Hussars, in yellow habits, with blue waistcoats and breeches, and high caps, streamers and colours flying, and martial music, the musicians in mask, and labels with '*The Morning Post*' on their caps, and they distributed handbills in behalf of the old paper. A masquerade exhibited by a clergyman in behalf of a most scandalous paper, particularly abusive on women of the first rank, in the midst of a civil war! what words can come up to the profligacy, insensibility, and degeneracy of the times?

Dunning moved for information against two justices of the peace, who refused to tender the oaths to Roman Catholics; Lord Mansfield said he did not like reviving that sort of persecution, and refused the information. This was consonant to the restoration of Popery in Canada, and opposition to all favour to Dissenters.

18*th.* The King sent for Admiral Keppel, and gave him the command of the Fleet of Observation—yet the Ministers professed not expecting a French war!—yet some owned that nothing but a strong fleet could prevent it. And they bragged of having twenty-five ships of the Line ready; yet Lord Mulgrave owned to the King at his levee that his ship wanted two hundred men of its complement. They had now thoughts of enforcing pressing in the

City, though the Court of Aldermen had just thanked Sawbridge for having resisted it in his Mayoralty.

21*st*. Lord Harcourt's term in Ireland had long been expired, and he had long been soliciting his recall. The Court had endeavoured by all means to persuade Lord Rochford to accept that government, but he could not be persuaded to reside there the whole term. Lord Hillsborough was most desirous of that post, but being an Irishman, could not obtain it. It was now at last, by the interest of Lord Suffolk, bestowed on Lord Buckingham, who had pined himself into illness for it, and who was, perhaps, of all the nobility the least fit—nay, the most unfit, for it. He was weak, proud, avaricious, peevish, fretful, and femininely observant of the punctilio of visits; and he had every one of those defects in the extreme, with their natural concomitant, obstinacy. His wife had more sense with as much pride. The condition and perhaps chief inducement to the nomination of Lord Buckingham, was that he was to have no disposal of military preferments. He had previously been Ambassador in Russia. His first wife was the daughter of Sir Thomas Drury, by whom he had only four *daughters*, which had fretted him so much, that her apprehension of his ill-humour on the birth of the last was thought to have contributed to her death. He then married a sister of Mr. Conolly of Ireland, and had two sons by her, who both died within a short time of each other, before the eldest was three years old. Lord Gower had endeavoured to make his son-in-law, the young Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant; but Lord George Germaine and Lord Suffolk carried it for Lord Buckingham.

22*nd*. Arrived letters from General Carleton, with an account of the destruction of the Provincial Fleet on Lake

Champlain, on the 11th and 13th of October, twelve of their vessels being taken or destroyed out of fifteen. The Royalists had, with almost incredible expedition, built or rebuilt thirty vessels; and the Americans, having no notion of their being able to be ready so soon, and indeed seeming to have totally wanted all intelligence, were surprised and defeated. Arnold, however, had formed a plan to surround and destroy the Royal Fleet; and it was thought would have succeeded, if he had not been disappointed by the cowardice or treachery of some of his people. He, however, fought with great bravery himself, and retired to Ticonderoga, after entirely destroying Crown Point. Carleton expressed much doubt from the lateness of the season of being able to proceed any farther this campaign, so that if forced to return to Quebec, he had not gained an inch of ground by this victory. Men were surprised to hear General Burgoyne was immediately coming home on pretence of his own affairs, but it was supposed on disagreement with Carleton.

26th. Account of Grimaldi and Panucci, Prime Ministers of Spain and Naples, being disgraced. The Court gave out that this was a favourable omen for peace, as the Duc de Choiseul and Grimaldi had been authors of the Family Compact. There had more recently appeared in the papers a letter signed by Grimaldi of very hostile aspect. An American privateer had carried three prizes into Bilboa; the Governor had detained them and sent to Court for orders. He was ordered by Grimaldi's letter to restore them, the King of Spain professing an exact neutrality, which was in effect owning our Colonies for an independent state. We were said to have threatened Portugal, that if she did not satisfy Spain we would not protect her.

DECEMBER.

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3rd. THE Parliament adjourned for the holidays.

It was now known that Grimaldi had endeavoured to preserve peace. As he was extremely obnoxious to the Prince of Asturias, who had often affronted him, and as Panucci, Prime Minister of Naples, was disgraced by the intrigues of the Queen, it seemed to have been a concert between the younger part of the Spanish Royal Family. A Spanish fleet of six ships-of-the-line sailed immediately after Grimaldi's disgrace; its supposed destination for the Brazils.

9th. General Burgoyne again arrived from Quebec as he had done the last year. He now pretended grief for his wife's death, which was laughed at. The King scarce spoke to him, and he was forced to ask for an audience. Some thought he had quarrelled with Carleton; but he was exceedingly disappointed at finding the Opposition had quitted Parliament, having probably hoped, as he had done last year, to be bribed from making complaints. He brought news that Carleton had caused his army to recross the lakes, had abandoned Crown Point, and not attempted Ticonderoga, where Major Gates was with 12,000 men.

A little before this time, Sericole and Jackson, partners, and two of the greatest Jamaica merchants in London, broke, by the failure of that trade, for the amazing sum of 975,000*l.* Their failure was so void of fraud that their creditors agreed to allow them 1000*l.* a year a-piece

till their affairs could be made up, and Lord North agreed to lend them 400,000*l.* of Government money. This loan, at a time that Government was so distressed for money, and was going to raise new taxes, was done to stop the bad effects of this bankruptcy among other merchants, and was demonstrative of the obstinacy of the Court in the American war, which had already brought, and must bring, on so much destruction to commerce.

10*th.* Died Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York; a sensible, worldly man, but much addicted to his bottle. A living had lapsed to the Crown by his not being able before his death to sign a presentation to it. The King gave the nomination to Wedderburne, because the latter's wife had landed interest where the living lay—the very reason that made him the most improper person to have the nomination to it for the interest of the Church of York.

16*th.* An account came that Dr. Franklin, at the age of 72 or 74, and at the risk of his head, had bravely embarked on board an American frigate, and, with two prizes taken in their way, had landed at Nantes in France, and was to be at Paris on the 14th, where the highest admiration and expectation of him were raised. There could be no doubt but he came with the fullest powers from the Congress to announce the fullest independence of the Colonies, and to offer the most advantageous terms of alliance and commerce to France—perhaps to declare they must make peace with England if not vigorously supported, though the Houses had done nothing, and there was no longer danger from Canada. Perhaps, too, this bold step was necessary to confirm the spirit of the several provinces. It is difficult to suppose that France can resist such tempting offers of ruining us for ever, or that M. de Maurepas can stem the universal inclination of his country-

men for the Americans, and the desire of war in the military, added to the same inclinations in Spain.

Dr. Markham, the late Preceptor and Bishop of Chester, was promoted to the See of York, after it had been offered to Dr. Terrick, of London, who declined it on his bad health, and probably in hopes of Canterbury. Markham had been promised promotion, and no doubt fears of what he could divulge had still greater weight than the promise. His being preferred, who had offended, and Lord Holderness, who had pleased, not getting the Garter, showed fear was a better solicitor than affection. Dr. Porteus succeeded to Chester on the merit of preaching a loyal pamphlet on the Fast,[1] and carried the mitre from Dr. Butler, an abler man, who had expected it, but who, not expecting so much from the boasted success in America, had made a more trimming sermon on the same occasion. Butler was a very sensible man, and had written some able pamphlets under the countenance of Mr. Legge in 1765 and 1766; but losing his patron, and seeing the tide turned, had turned a zealous courtier. He had desired my brother, Sir Edward Walpole, to desire I would get Lord Hertford to make him the King's Chaplain, saying he had a good estate, and said he only wanted a *feather*, not a deanery or bishopric. I obtained it. He was afflicted with the stone, and bore being cut for it with the greatest fortitude—but could not bear the disappointment of the mitre with equal heroism, but with much weakness.

The Fast Sermon let loose all the zeal of the clergy, and contributed to raise the infatuation of England against America. Indeed it was no wonder, for the Court had now at their devotion the three great bodies of the clergy,

[1] On the Fast on the 13th nobody was admitted to Court but in mourning, and the Courtiers went everywhere to church in mourning.

army, and law. Lord Mansfield encouraged writings full of all the old exploded nonsense of passive obedience and non-resistance. He employed particularly a Dr. Lynde, who had written those able letters, on very different principles, on the partition of Poland. On the Fast, too, a sermon against all the principles of the Revolution was preached and licensed at Oxford by Dr. Miles Cooper, late President of the College at New York. This was severely attacked in the public papers in a letter to the Bishop of London, who was called on to know if Cooper had received any share of the subscription for the suffering American clergy, for whom above 5000*l.* had been collected, and of which no account had been yet given. An answer appeared that Cooper had received nothing thence. The conversation of many courtiers was openly in favour of arbitrary power. Lord Huntingdon and Dr. Barnard, Dean of Derry, who was promised an Irish Bishopric, held such discourse publicly.

29*th.* Came accounts of the surrender to Howe of Fort Washington with 2700 prisoners, Washington retiring, according to the plan of protracting the war, and not fighting. However, the Americans had so far behaved well, that Howe had been in danger of a defeat, and the Hessians had suffered considerably.[2] Lord Percy's horse

[2] Among the writers who this year discussed the Anglo-American question in pamphlets was Dr. Tucker, who in 1758 was rewarded with the Deanery of Gloucester, for having secured the return of Mr. Nugent, afterwards Lord Clare, for Bristol, where Tucker was rector of St. Stephens. Tucker held liberal views, and in a series of pamphlets he advocated the expediency of the mother country allowing the colonies to separate from her government, and even to defend them from foreign aggression, if they sought for it. These pamphlets awoke the satiric muse of Soame Jenyns, a multifarious writer, of the Board of Trade, who had published, among other works, a poem 'On the Art of Dancing,' and a 'View of the Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion.' From the satire on Dean Tucker (the reader will be reminded of Mason's satire 'Of the Dean and the Squire'), I take the following stanzas:—

'Crown'd be the man with lasting praise,
Who first contrived the pin,
To loose mad horses from the chain,
And save the works within.
. . . . . .
Each

had been killed under him as Lord Howe stood close by him. The proclamation, which had been so disliked here, had had no effect. Not an American, but Scotch and Irish had come in. The Americans were all sullen and determined; and the prisoners made at Fort Washington had sent to their General to beg he would not treat for their exchange, as an exchange would be more beneficial to the King than to him. The Howes had lost many men and pressed for recruits. General Carleton had written for 4000 more. The Administration determined to make a vigorous campaign, and treated for 10,000 Wirtembergers and other Germans.

The Opposition came no more to Parliament after the first day. I had endeavoured last winter to persuade them to secede, with a public protest against the present measures. They had approved the measure but did nothing. I told them they must foretell calamities—it would be too late after they happened or after success. They thought of it again in autumn, and did no more, and now kept from Parliament without giving any reasons there or to the public; and in the meantime had seen all England turn against them, the Court being as industrious as they were irresolute and inactive.

Each claiming now his natural right
Scorns to obey his brother;
So they proceed to kick and bite,
And worry one another.
Hungry at last, and blind and lame,
Bleeding at nose and eyes,
By suff'rings grown extremely tame,
And by experience wise;

With bellies full of liberty,
But void of oats and hay,
They both sneak back, their folly see,
And run no more away.
Let all who view th' instructive scene,
And patronize the plan,
Give thanks to Gloster's honest Dean,
For TUCKER thou'rt the man.'

SOAME JENYNS.

—D.

1777.

JANUARY.

20*th.* An express arrived that Bristol was in flames; at least so the Administration gave out. The fact was, that some houses had been set on fire, and about six burnt; the highest amount of the loss being 8000*l.* The cause was very uncertain. The Court party there had with great difficulty procured an address against the Americans, and some thought the opposite party, which was very numerous, had done this in revenge. The Court endeavoured to make it thought an American plot (just as they had laboured to instil the belief of Sayer's plot, exactly, too, before the meeting of Parliament). They combined the fire at Bristol with a late attempt of the same kind at Portsmouth, and did spread a great panic, though for very few days.

22*nd.* The Parliament, but none of the Opposition attended. Several meetings of his friends were held at Lord Rockingham's, and Burke drew up a strong petition to the King—a most absurd way of dispensing with their own attendance in Parliament; but, though they invited not Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, to those meetings, they could agree on nothing amongst themselves.

23*rd.* Accounts came of Rhode Island having surrendered to the Howes.

Sir Gilbert Elliot died in the South of France, where he was for the recovery of his health. Lord Frederick Campbell was competitor for his place, but the Duke of Buccleugh strongly supporting the Lord Advocate, he succeeded Sir Gilbert Elliot as Keeper of the Signet, paying a pension to the famous Andrew Stuart, and Lord F. Campbell had a grant of his own pension for life. The Treasurership of the Navy was reserved for Lord Howe, who had held it before.

FEBRUARY.

8th. THE Ministers brought in a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus with regard to the Americans. I had received intelligence of this bill three weeks before, and, being ill, sent for the Duke of Richmond and acquainted him with that intention, which, indeed, I had concluded would be a general suspension. I said to him, "My Lord, this bill you must oppose, or you and your friends will lose all credit. I think I have an idea that by anticipation will throw cold water on the intended bill, or at least will furnish the Opposition with a most justifiable and popular cause of secession. I would take advantage of Dr. Miles Cooper's sermon[1] as a handle of complaint; not for censure, for I would seem to despise it, but I would complain of the prerogative sermons and pamphlets lately printed and published under the countenance of the Court; and I would urge that many persons were alarmed at the en-

[1] Many of the fast sermons were in the same strains; even Bishop Hurd's sermon, though more guarded, breathed the same prerogative spirit.

couragement given to such arbitrary doctrines, and at the suspected views of the Court; and I would press the Administration to make a declaration of their not having any such views. I would tell them, my Lord, that I and my friends would be satisfied if they would concur in the following resolution, as an earnest of their sincerity, and then I would move:—'Resolved, That Magna Charta, the Bill of Right, the Habeas Corpus, the Liberty of the Press, and Trial by Juries, are the unalterable bulwarks of the Constitution; and whoever shall endeavour to alter, weaken, or abrogate those sacred foundations, by preaching, writing, speaking, or voting, is an enemy to his country and to the house of Hanover, which was brought over to guard and maintain those invaluable blessings.' I added, 'My Lord, I will give your Grace this motion in writing, but I beg you will transcribe it, for it will be sufficient reason to your friends (I meant Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Burke) not to come into it, that it comes from me. The motion will throw previous disgrace on the intended suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and alarm men against it.'" The Duke replied, "The Ministers will say these things are better confirmed by being the laws of the land." "I know it, my Lord," said I; "but being so, with what grace can they refuse you this satisfaction? Yet I dare to say they will, by moving for the previous question; then you will have the best foundation in the world for seceding, and giving your reasons in print." I communicated my intelligence to Charles Fox, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Camden, too, but neither they nor the Rockinghams would believe there could be such a design, till the bill itself came into Parliament.

The object certainly was to keep the American captives in prison, and not be obliged to bring them to trial till

the end of the war, or till it should be convenient to the Court, either by exchange of prisoners or by any other means. Yet I do not doubt but the Court, and Lord Mansfield in particular, were willing to accustom the nation to suspensions of the Habeas Corpus; Lord Mansfield never omitting any opportunity of undermining the bulwarks and blessings of liberty.

None of Lord Rockingham's friends appeared in the House against the bill; but Lord Shelburne was not so foolishly inactive. Governor Johnston's brother opposed it, and Dunning moved for the printing; and even this faint opposition so alarmed the Ministers, that they explained away the spirit of the bill, and admitted such alterations, clauses, and softenings, as took off much of its obnoxiousness, and showed that if the whole opposition had acted with vigour, they would have kept a most wicked, designing, but cowardly Ministry in great awe; and as Charles Fox told them in the course of the bill, they had thought to steal this dangerous bill on the nation by the secession of the Opposition, and by altering it, showed how bad it had been in its original concoction. But did not this tell Lord Rockingham, too, how mischievous their secession was?

Lord Rockingham held a meeting to consider whether they should return and oppose, and they had great divisions. Lord Rockingham, the Cavendishes, and Burke adhered to their stupid retreat, but Charles Fox would not; and even Sir George Saville, though more attached to Lord Rockingham, was so honest as to attend the House on the third reading, and spoke against the bill. The proud obstinacy of the others only betrayed to the world the divisions in the party. Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Grafton, and perhaps Lord Camden (I am not sure),

intended to oppose the bill warmly in the Lords, but Dunning's clause being accepted, they did not.

11*th*. The bill was read a second time, and opposed by Dunning, Johnston, T. Townshend, and Charles Fox. Lord North ridiculed the last, and said he should not have known the Opposition was so insignificant if the gentleman had not owned it. It was voted by 195 to 43.

12*th*. The Common Council voted a petition against the bill, and it was presented by the sheriffs.

13*th*. Dunning proposed an explanatory clause, which Cornwall amending, it was understood that the Administration accepted it, when Rigby rose, and in a most vociferous manner declared he thought the bill, so far from dangerous or too extensive, did not go far enough; nay, he wished for a total suspension, as he had formerly seen (though that was in this country when the Rebellion raged). This slavish flattery came with still worse grace from Rigby, as all his inflammatory speeches for the war had done, as his place of paymaster was considerably swollen by the raging of the war. The House, no less venal and ductile, applauded Rigby's fury; and Lord North, who it appeared had not even read the bill, made Cornwall rise again and disclaim any agreement in the clause. Adam, as usual, censured Lord North for want of violence, and Wedderburne made a very poor speech for the bill. Conway again recommended peace, said he was no seceder, would support anybody that could compose our troubles, and urged the probability of war with France, where Franklin and Deane were openly countenanced,[2] and whence ships with ammunition and supplies were constantly sent to the Americans; that this country

[2] In the sight of our Ambassador.

could never bring America to unconditional submission, nor ought to insist on it; yet, said he, the moment France and America are joined, he should be an enemy to America. Lord North at last rose, and to the surprise of everybody, and to the indignation of Rigby and all the violent, accepted the clause and suffered it to be inserted in the bill. Charles Fox, in an admirable speech, complimented Lord North on his candour and universal benevolence, said he should consider him as the head of the seceders, and their guardian against the violence of his coadjutors; but Lord North's conduct that day had been so desultory and uncertain that the courtiers interpreted the panegyric as a sarcasm. The debate was going to end, when Wilkes made a long speech, in which, with great rudeness but great wit, he said Lord North, like a true *dictator*, had chosen for his *Master of the Horse* the noble lord near him (Lord George Germaine), who, to his immortal honour, with great and invincible courage advanced and charged the enemies of our country at the head of the British *Horse*. This speech gave time to Wedderburne, whom Charles Fox treated severely, to recover himself, and he made one of his best speeches, that hurt Fox much, drawing a parallel between him and Wilkes, and ridiculing universal benevolence (to which he unfairly added the word equal), and said all great writers had given up the idea of equal universal benevolence. He invidiously attacked Conway, too, whose virtue and integrity were too pure not to be an eyesore to so profligate a tool, who was the avowed advocate of so soiled a character as Lord George Germaine's. There was no division, and the bill passed the Lords, too, with only a softening explanation drawn from the Chancellor by the Earl of Coventry.

When the accounts of the war were laid before the House of Commons, one article was of 750,000*l.* sent in

specie to America—a lesson to the country gentlemen who lived in expectation of seeing part of their taxes borne by the Americans.

24*th.* Letters from General Howe with many bad accounts, and confirmation of a large body of Hessians made prisoners. The Court owned to the number of 700, but it was thought to be double. They had not been surprised, yet laid down their arms; and now began to appear what had been foreseen, that the German mercenaries, whose pay was wretched and service hard and hopeless, would be seduced by their countrymen settled in America. The Hessians, encouraged by plunder, had at first behaved with great cruelty to the Americans; but, the English imitating them, General Howe had been forced to restrain marauding; and fifteen Hessian prisoners, being carried to Philadelphia and released, had learnt to embrace a happier lot, and instilled desertion into their companions. Their prince, the Landgrave, enriched by our subsidy, was now at Rome, *abjuring Protestantism in the hands of the Pope.* Two English regiments had been beaten, and General Howe reduced to contract his quarters. The Congress had retired from Philadelphia to Baltimore, but the provincials having burnt all the boats, Howe could not cross the Delaware river. The Court, at the same time, could get no new German troops.

28*th.* General Clinton arrived. He had quitted his duty to come and pursue his anger against Lord George Germaine for having misrepresented his conduct at Charles Town, in the Gazette.

Towards the end of the month Governor Johnston complained to the House of Commons of an English ship taken by the Spaniards; the Ministry had remonstrated, but could get no answer from Spain: yet the House would not receive the petition.

MARCH.

THIS month was tried and executed *John the Painter*,[1] the incendiary, who had attempted to set fire to Portsmouth, and actually had set fire to and burnt two or three houses at Bristol, with so little address, that though he acted from American enthusiasm, the chief mischief he had done was to an American merchant. The Ministers were even at first less alarmed at the attempt and crime than ready to turn it into matter of clamour against the Americans, as a conspiracy amongst whom they represented the act, giving out that the whole city of Bristol was in flames. As it was some time before the perpetrator was discovered, they endeavoured to spread an universal panic and suspicion, and were indignant when told that they had set the example of such savage and unfair war by burning Norfolk, and meditating a conflagration at New York before it fell into their hands. Lord Rochford, their old tool, when it was objected to him that the Ministers had been the aggressors, called it talking treason. It was much to their confusion, that the perpetrator being taken, was discovered by a burglary which he had committed, and that he proved to be a single incendiary without accomplices, a notorious housebreaker, a mad enthusiast, and a *Scotchman*. Lord Sandwich, whose supreme talents were the artifices of a spy, busied himself capitally in the detection of a plot, which proved no plot at all; and some printed books being found in the culprit's lodgings, Lord George Germaine[2] gave

[1] Serjeant Davy on the trial made an invective against the patriots.

[2] Sir W. Hamilton, Envoy to Naples, then in England, came to me from Lord

out that they were an account of the massacre at Paris and Dr. Price's pamphlet. Dr. Franklin, too, was involved in the charge; the Ministers, to decry him, pretending to believe that he had invented a new and most destructive machine for burning towns. Two hundred years sooner the same persons would have accused him of magic!

But by far the most surprising part of the story was that the conviction of John the Painter was effected by a very unexpected actor, who, descending from a greater height than Lord Sandwich had done in the treachery to Wilkes, stooped to become the spy of a Ministry whom he had long affected to treat with the utmost contempt. This was the old, decrepid Lord Temple,[3] whose crippled body was still agitated by the smothered flames of ambition, and who, exploded by all parties and factions, chose to purchase contemptuous smiles from the Court, and to indulge his late brother George's rancour to America, by turning informer and prompter to a treacherous spy. In short, he had sent down a dependent of his, a painter, to Winchester jail, to insinuate himself into the prisoner's confidence; and they succeeded, as far as hanging the

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George's, where he had dined, and assured me Lord George had named the two pieces to him.

[3] Richard, first Earl Temple. His father, Richard Grenville, of Wootton, a country gentleman who traced his descent from Rollo, Duke of Normandy, married in 1710 the daughter of Sir Richard Temple, of Stow, who, in 1749, was advanced to the dignity of Countess Temple. As Earl Temple, Richard succeeded his mother in 1752, and, dying childless in 1779, was himself succeeded by his nephew, the son of his next brother, George Grenville, the minister. This nephew, also named George, married in 1775 an heiress, Mary, the only daughter of Earl Nugent, and was created Marquis of Buckingham in 1784. Their son Richard married in 1796 Anne, the only child of the third and last Duke of Chandos, and descendant of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, whose wife Frances was the eldest daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary, widow of Louis XII., and daughter of Henry VII. Thus, if Grenville of Wootton brought with him the blood of Rollo, the heiress of Chandos brought with her, blood that could be traced through the wife of Henry VII. to a Plantagenet. Accordingly, the husband of this heiress was created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos in 1822. Walpole's "old, decrepid Lord Temple" died in 1779, before he had attained the age of threescore years and ten.—D.

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man; but, though Lord Sandwich, Lord Palmerston, and Stanley, three of the Admiralty, went down to the trial, and though no pains were omitted to involve Silas Deane in the accusation, the criminal, who at first pretended to have received 300*l.* from him, at last only pleaded having been promised so much, and was soon despatched that he might not recant even that. The zeal of the Scots, as zeal is the blindest of all agents, endeavoured to alarm France, as if Silas Deane had such a passion for burning magazines, that Brest would not be safe if he was suffered to remain in France; it was so likely that he would pay his court at Versailles by so capital an injury! But though this mean treachery in a man who had once stood so high, under the wings of Lord Chatham, and was now unconnected with the Court, might be actuated by hopes of being again received into it, yet Lord Temple's mind was as capable of doing a base thing for a little end as for a great one; and he had at this time a little object too. The church of Buckingham was rebuilding, and he had offered to contribute 200*l.* or 300*l.* to the fabric, provided it was rebuilt on another spot, whence it would be an ornament to the prospect from Stowe. The Corporation agreed, but Lord Verney, proprietor of the spot, would not. Lord Temple, instead of soliciting a favour, insolently attempted to force the ground from the other Earl by act of Parliament, and the Ministers ordered their creatures to attend the committee and support Lord Temple's usurpation; but Burke, the friend of Lord Verney, and Charles Fox opposed so unjust an act; and Burke lashed Lord Temple so severely, that he retracted his bill, and asked pardon for having attempted it.

Finding, however, that his services against the incendiary were accepted, and Lord North having a dangerous

illness at the same time, yet not losing his good humour (for Dr. Warren, his physician, asking his Lordship what he felt? he, who was very gross, replied, "What I have not felt a great while, my own ribs"), Lord Temple could not conceal his ambition, but gave out that Lord North protracted his illness to prevent being forced to demand the payment of the King's debts, and would be removed, and that he, Lord Temple, was to be first Lord of the Treasury, with Jenkinson for his Chancellor of the Exchequer, —an union that would have been as ignominious to him as his treacherous plot on John the Painter, Lord Temple having been the principal incendiary that instigated Wilkes in all his attacks on Lord Bute and the Cabal.

The Ministers had laid the greater stress on this plot to divert the thoughts of the nation from the distressful situation of their armies in America, which were perishing by every want and calamity, where they had been forced to abandon Rhode Island, and for which, with pressing at home and hiring abroad, they could not amass 7000 recruits: they had contracted for forces with the Duke of Wirtemberg, but his dominions being sequestered for his debts, the administrators would not let him squander his subjects as he had done his revenues.

11*th*. Temple Luttrell offered a plan for raising seamen without pressing, but it was rejected by the House of Commons.

The same day was published 'David Hume's Life,' written by himself, in which he boasts of being the first to laugh at the folly of Whiggism.

16*th*. The captain of the Royal Oak, out on a cruise, returned suddenly with an account of eight French men-of-war sailing westward. It turned out to be eight ships from Toulon going to Brest.

News that the Portuguese had again attacked the Spanish settlements in America, and that the Congress had declared Washington Lord Protector.

General Yorke had drawn and sent over a strong memorial to the Dutch, complaining of the Governor of St. Eustatia saluting the American ships. It was approved here and returned to him to be presented. It was extremely ill taken in Holland, and they talked of uniting with France against our engrossing all trade. Mons. de Noailles, the French Ambasador here, said, his Court would not have sent so haughty a memorial to any inferior state. It was said that Sir Joseph Yorke, threatening to leave the Hague on not receiving an answer to his memorial, was coldly told that there were no gates to the Hague.

One Dignam, a spy, gave information of a plot of twenty-five persons (at the head of which were Lord Shelburne and Sawbridge) to assassinate the King. For a few days it was believed, and the chief accused were watched, and the King was afraid to ride out; but the man being taken up for forging the sale of a place, the plot was found to be his forgery too.

Accounts from India of Lord Pigot being put under arrest by a Scotch faction in the Council.[4] He had been

[4] The gallant and unfortunate Pigot was the able defender of Madras against Lally, 1759. He was also a zealous servant of the Company, in protecting its interests against the encroachments of the Crown. Governor Pigot was raised to the Irish peerage previous to his going out to India a second time as Governor of Madras. The arrest of Lord Pigot was at once a curious and serious circumstance. The Nabob of the Carnatic had illegally deposed the Rajah of Tanjore, who was restored by Lord Pigot. The notorious Paul Benfield claimed a large portion of the Rajah's revenue, which he alleged had been assigned to him by the Nabob, in satisfaction of a debt. There was no truth in the assertion, nor justice in assuming that the Rajah's revenue was to pay the Nabob's debts. The Madras Council, however, after various contradictory decisions, allowed the validity of Benfield's claim; and as Lord Pigot continued his opposition, a majority of the Council arrested him, through a Colonel Stuart, who had previously breakfasted, dined, and spent the day

betrayed and seized by Colonel Stewart, brother of Archibald Stewart.

19*th*. General Robertson arrived from General Howe with accounts of slight skirmishes. Howe had been forced to send for troops from Rhode Island, and Washington's army had been greatly augmented from the South; but a very different account was published in the 'Gazette' from what Robertson gave in private. At New York they had nothing but salt provisions. Washington not declared Protector, but Dictator for six months. The Scotch began to abuse General Howe in all the coffee houses. Robertson, in fact, had brought word that so many Provincials had arrived from the Southern provinces to join Washington, that his army amounted to 30,000 men. Notwithstanding this and the accounts he gave in private, so very different to the intelligence published in the 'Gazette,' Robertson himself was quoted for the narrative. It is very certain that he complained that he had had two or three material points to acquaint the King with; but though he had an audience, he could not bring his Majesty to listen to him at his audience, and was so shocked at it that he was taken ill the moment he came out of the closet. The fact was that the Junto and Scotch had blown up the King to such inveteracy to America, that he would hear nothing that contradicted his desires of conquering them; and his indolence concurring with his animosity, he could seldom be prevailed upon even to read the letters that came from America. This obstinate negligence was confirmed to me by very good and very different channels.

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with his Lordship. Pigot died in the eighth month of his captivity, of a broken heart. His persecutors only suffered by a nominal fine of 1000*l*.! but Benfield's claims were never realized. Lord Pigot's title became extinct in 1783.—D.

The same evening the King and Queen, for the first time in the reign, went to a concert and cards at the Duke and Duchess of Argyll's: nobody but their servants there, except Lord and Lady Derby and Lady Gower. They took down the Duchess of Gloucester's picture, who had been a great friend of the Duchess of Argyll. Which were meanest, they who paid such court, or they who expected it?

The Bishop of London writes a letter in the papers, as Bishop Porteus had written a book, to enforce the observance of Good Friday. About this time was published Dr. Price's additions to his pamphlet on Civil Liberty, in which he argued that the Congress had agreed to offer England to pay so much for 100 years as should discharge the national debt, but were provoked not to make the offer by our sending foreigners against them. *This very memorable.* Shebbeare, the pilloried champion of the Court, abused Dr. Price daily in the papers.

Wedderburne's bill against annuities stiffly opposed by Lord Camden in the house of Lords, for giving power without appeal to inferior courts, but carried by above 40 to 14. See 'London Chronicle.'

31*st.* The proprietors of India stock voted by a great majority to recommend to the Court of Directors to restore Lord Pigot; and, the next day, the Directors by a majority of two voted his restitution. (*Qu.* the latter part?[5])

Died, Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, of a disorder in his bowels.

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[5] Walpole's query may be thus answered. The Directors sanctioned the resolution of the shareholders only by the casting vote of their Chairman; and ministerial influence being instantly exerted against such sanction, it was ultimately determined to recall both parties for the sake of investigation. Little or nothing came of it, of course. See a subsequent entry, under date April 14, and May 9, of this year.—D.

APRIL.

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Dr. Lowth, Bishop of Oxford, was translated to the See of London, and Dr. Butler succeeded him in Oxford.

9th. A message from the King was delivered to both Houses, desiring the payment of his debts. At the same time it was determined to increase his revenue 100,000*l.* a year. This measure had been in contemplation for two or three years, with double that addition to the revenue. That the King had declined such a proposition, when sure of so servile a Parliament, was speaking evidence of the despotism aimed at in the conquest of America, when a victorious army returning would have made the King as absolute as he desired to be; but the scene was changed, and the unprosperous state of America made the King and Court apprehend that the loss of America, and the heavy charge of a war, might prevent any increase of the revenue, if not seized before the nation's eyes were open, and before the people were soured by increase of taxes, and the enormous increase of the public debt. Lord North had certainly wished to avoid being the mover, and had made the most of his late illness, pleading the badness of his nerves. Still the weight of the debts on the civil list, and the danger of not obtaining an addition if delayed, were so obvious, that there had even been thoughts of making Cornwall make the motion if Lord North was unwilling or unable; but the latter saw that if he waived the office, he should forfeit all the merit of his past complaisance, and even risk his place, if he let any body else execute the

most material service. He had secured none of the sinecures in the Treasury for his family; and he had dipped too far not to complete the attainment of his wages. It was given out that the second hundred thousand pounds a year would not be asked till the Prince of Wales's family should be established. In fact, there was no doubt but the King dreaded that moment more than he wished even for increase of revenue, and feared that so large an addition would excite the avarice or ambition of those who hoped to be placed about the Prince, Nothing could equal the King's attention to seclude his son and protract his nonage. It went so absurdly far, that he was made to wear a shirt with a frilled collar like that of babies. He one day took hold of his collar, and said to a domestic, "*See how I am treated!*"[1]

No opposition was given to the payment of the debts the first day in either House; only in the Commons, on the Ministers proposing to defer the consideration for a week, Geo. Johnston, T. Townshend, and a few desired to go into it immediately, but on a division were few—about thirty to above an hundred.

The same day Temple Luttrell made a motion to admit strangers into the Gallery, and abused the Parliament in the grossest terms. It was borne, but the proposal rejected.

General Clinton was pacified by a supernumerary red riband—a paltry way of retrieving his honour, which he had come so far to vindicate.

Mons. De la Fayette, a young French officer, much

[1] It was currently said that the Prince, even when he was ten years of age, knew less of the world than any youth in Britain. His brother William (Clarence) had better means of escaping from the childish treatment. Thus, in 1780, after the termination of his cruise with Admiral Hardy, the sailor Prince wrote to the King, praying to be excused from going to London. "He doesn't fancy the nursery," was the popular comment on this letter. —D.

esteemed, who had married a granddaughter of Marshal de Noailles, niece to the French ambassador, had come over to see his uncle, was actually presented by him to the King, but suddenly disappeared, and returning to Paris, set out privately, with eight or ten young officers, his friends, and went to Bordeaux, where they embarked on board a vessel he had bought and equipped, and sailed for America. He was intimate with Franklin and Silas Deane, and being enthusiastic for the Americans, had obtained from them the rank of Major-General. His family sent after him, but too late; and the Court of France afterwards pretended to send a vessel to recall him, though it is not credible that ten young Frenchmen could have dared to take such a step without knowing it would be approved; nor was it likely they could all have kept such a secret. Count Welderen, the Dutch Minister, speaking of it, and of the quarrel with his country, said to me, "Sir, if any one of your Ministers would take the trouble of setting his foot on the Continent, he would find not one man in Europe but who wishes well to the Americans:" and it was true; our barbarities and folly had shocked everybody but the English and Scotch.

The East India Directors, considering the restoration of Lord Pigot as recommended to them by the Court of Proprietors, and being divided in sentiments, eleven to eleven, consulted their charter, which directed them on an equality to draw lots, which they did, and chance decided in favour of Lord Pigot. This produced much ridicule.

15*th*. The Ministers learnt, or said they had, that the Congress had sent to France and Spain, insisting they should, according to promise, declare war with England by a certain day, or they threatened they would lay down

their arms. It was said too that M. De la Fayette had been stopped, and was sent for back.

16*th*. Both Houses sat on the King's debts and augmentation. In the House of Commons, Lord John Cavendish, after apologising on the secession of himself and his friends on the plea of despair of doing any good, moved for a committee of inquiry into the accounts, though he said he believed nothing but calamity would bring the nation to its senses again. Lord North, as usual, endeavoured to laugh away reasoning, and said the King could not do with less than 900,000*l*. a year, though he heartily wished there was no application for places. Wilkes made a very offensive speech, and complained that for fifteen years he had received a succession of injuries. He mentioned the Duke of Gloucester, and said he was not abroad by choice; nor had the Duke of Cumberland, an amiable young prince, an income to live like a prince;—and then he extolled the King of France for his affection for his two brothers, who find in him an affectionate brother, not a gloomy tyrant like Louis XI. He said it was a disgrace for the names of Dr. Johnstone and Shebbeare to appear on the pension list; and he mentioned David Hume's being rewarded for writing against Christianity, and Dr. Beattie's for writing against Hume. Burke made a warm and witty speech against so extravagant a Civil List, and said it was the enormous Civil List of France that occasioned our having all the victories of the last war; and ridiculing the King's expenses, he said Louis XIV. had raised sumptuous palaces in the midst of all his wars, and Burke compared them with the wretched condition of the palaces in England. Charles Fox made a speech that even the courtiers allowed to be one of his finest orations; but then they commended it because it was remarkably decent and respectful to the

King. At ten the motion for a Committee was rejected by 281 to 114. Young Adam on this occasion made a foolish speech of impudent paradoxes, which the House received with every mark of ridicule and contempt.

18*th.* On the Report Lord North made a good speech, in which he attempted to answer Fox's of the preceding day—a proof of the excellence of the latter, as Lord North had taken two days to answer it; and as Charles Fox had defended the Duke of Grafton's conduct, Lord North was very severe on it. Sawbridge, in so many words, said the Members of both Houses were corrupted. He was called to order by General Fitzroy. Sir James Lowther made apologies for not having been able to attend the preceding day, and informed the House that he intended to propose an amendment in their Resolutions, and to insert an increase of income for the King's two brothers. He was overruled by the House and told this was irregular, and that there was no way but by re-committing them. His friends rose and advised him to postpone his motion, and bring it in by way of Address to his Majesty, and to have a day appointed on purpose for the consideration of that business. Charles Fox asked if Lord North thought the addition of 100,000*l.* would be sufficient without coming for more? Lord North said he thought it would till the Prince of Wales should be grown up. Charles asked if he would pledge himself? Rigby said Lord North was not bound to answer questions of individuals; whenever it had been done an ill use had been made of it. Perhaps Lord North might not be in power when the Prince shall be married, how then can he pledge himself? On the King's accession the idea of his Ministers was that he should be a popular and a patriot King, but it would be difficult to make a popular king of a poor one; that Sir Robert Walpole had been called the

Father of Corruption, not that he was so, but that Opposition liked to call names. On the division the numbers of the Court were diminished, being but 137 to 109, some of the country gentlemen not liking the augmentation—even the Tory, Sir W. Bagot, Lord North's particular friend, kept away,—I should rather think from popularity than principle, for at this time Lord Dartmouth complained that the *Tories would not be content but with absolute power for the Crown.*

Accounts from Ireland of a violent quarrel there between Tisdale, the Attorney-General, and Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Dublin, who were bitter enemies, both bad men, and the latter so violent, that he and his three sons had at one and the same time been engaged in duels. Hutchinson going through the hall to the Court of Chancery, had been, he thought, or said he was, jostled by a young counsellor attached to Tisdale. Hutchinson called the young man names, who replying in the same style, the former rushed into the Court, and finding Tisdale there, abused him in the grossest terms, and collared him. The Chancellor adjourned the Court, and next day Hutchinson sent Tisdale a challenge. Tisdale refused to fight him, urged that himself was 73, and saying. "If I should kill him, I should get nothing but the pleasure of killing him; whereas if he kills me, he will get my place of Secretary of State, of which he has the reversion." Lord Buckingham,[2] whom Tisdale governed, took this insult up strongly, and it was talked of passing an Act of Parliament to take away Hutchinson's Provostship, though it was for life.[3]

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[2] John, Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant from 1777 to 1780. He died in 1793.—D.

[3] Hely Hutchinson's rapacity for office may be illustrated by two circumstances. He was in possession of many posts, some sinecures, and all lucrative, when he applied to the Lord-Lieutenant Townshend for more. Townshend laughed, and said he had no-

The Ministers had great hopes of a pacific arrangement with France, and the Budget was put off in hopes of announcing it and putting people in good humour for the taxes. They said, France had offered to disarm eight men-of-war, and that Spain should too, if we would disarm as many. As they had laid an embargo on their Newfoundland ships to man their Navy, we in a fright had agreed, though the offer seemed fallacious, and it was thought France would still remain the stronger at sea. Part of a memorial, said to be delivered to the French Ministers by Lord Stormont, was published, and not denied nor the printer prosecuted, *though most humiliating to us,* as it pleaded that the Colonies were almost become *a great and independent Empire.* However, France excused herself, urging that Spain would not consent to disarm.

Immediately after this refusal an American privateer took, and carried into Dunkirk, one of our packet boats with the King's messenger and mail, but set the messenger on shore. The crew were imprisoned by order of the Court of France as *pirates.*

Letters of a disagreement between General Howe and Lord Percy; the latter was coming home, and it was said that even the former had desired his recall.

When the Speaker presented the Civil List Bill to the King in the House of Lords, he told him, his faithful Commons had, in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, and *labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne,* granted him a supply and great additional

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thing but a majorship of dragoons, which Hely is reported to have accepted, employing a deputy to fulfil the duty for a small emolument. When Hutchinson first appeared at the English Court, George III. asked Lord North who he was; a query to which his Lordship gave a well-known reply: "He is the Secretary of State for Ireland; a man on whom if your Majesty was pleased to bestow the United Kingdom, he would ask for the Isle of Man as a potato-garden." Hutchinson died in 1794.—D.

revenue, great beyond example, great *beyond his Majesty's highest expense* (he really used the word *wants*, but in his printed speech changed it to *expense*), but hoping that what they had contributed so liberally would be employed wisely. This gave the King much offence, and was extraordinary in such a tool, who had voted for the money himself. It was supposed that the Speaker acted from resentment, having been refused a peerage.

MAY.

8th. AFTER long expectation, letters came from General Howe, which only brought account of his having destroyed an American magazine, all the particulars of which were specified with as much parade as if it had been a victory.

9th. The proprietors of India Stock, by the management and votes of the courtiers, voted a recall both of Lord Pigot and his adversaries. The Nabob was said to have sent over a great sum and distributed it by his agent Macleane.

The same day Sir James Lowther made his intended motion for an Address to the King for an increase of income to his brothers. Sir Edward Astley seconded him. He had been put upon it by Governor Johnston, but the friends of the Royal Dukes took no part in it. Sir John Griffin moved for the previous question (by direction of the Court), saying the movers could not entertain hopes of carrying the question, which could not be discussed without risking disrespect to the two Royal Dukes, and therefore

he wished to prevent any debate. Sir George Howard seconded him, urging that the question was too delicate. Governor Johnston said he had not the same delicacy; that if the two Princes should get into debt and leave their country, his Majesty would be glad to pay their debts, and therefore this application might prevent his Majesty's wishes. Rigby disclaimed disrespect to the two Dukes. The motion implied that the House would grant the money. How could they who voted against paying the King's debts vote for this? The late Duke of Cumberland had only 15,000*l.* a year before the battle of Culloden; till then no thought of increasing his income. The King, if he thought proper, might reduce his brothers to 8000*l.* a year. Are 20,000*l.* a year not sufficient? Sir James had a princely fortune: all Princes need not be so rich. "If I had spoken," added he, "of the sense of this House in another place, I should have said a large majority approved it. I should not have said my constituents were labouring under burthens too heavy to be borne. If I had thought so I would not have voted the money, nor would have said the money granted was beyond his Majesty's highest wants." Charles Fox said less than 20,000*l.* a year had some years been thought sufficient for the Dukes; so had 800,000*l.* been thought sufficient for his Majesty: by parity of reason both ought to be increased. The present flourishing state of the kingdom had been chosen for increasing the revenue. To be sure his Majesty was full of goodness, but if *full of hatred*, ought not Parliament to interfere? If one of the Princes was abroad on account of his finances, it was a scandal to this country. If such conduct arose from any quarrel, to take a part in that quarrel was the worst servility. It was the worst libel on the King to suppose such behaviour could be agreeable to him. Wilkes laughed

at the two Generals, Griffin and Howard, who were Knights of the Bath, and called them gentlemen in *blushing ribands*. Burke declared for the motion, and then the previous question was carried by 152 to 45. After the Debate *the Speaker complained of Rigby's attack*,[1] and Charles Fox proposed words in justification of the Speaker, which were agreed to without a division. Lord North was exceedingly alarmed during the Debate, and wrote several notes to Rigby across the House to beg him to submit, which, though he did and asked pardon, the Speaker was stout, and declared he would resign the chair next day unless the House itself gave him satisfaction.

The Common Council of London voted the freedom of the City to the Speaker for his speech to the King.

14*th*. Lord North opened the budget, languidly, and appearing ill, and desired to be excused entering into the state of the nation, which Lord George Germaine was much called on to do, and said he would the next day. Colonel Barré detected a bargain of the Treasury, in which the contractors for rum had gained forty per cent. Charles Fox displayed astonishing parts on the revenue, which he had only gathered from Jenkinson's seconding Lord North.

15*th*. Lord George Germaine entered on the American war, declared he had great hopes from the campaign; said Washington's army was very weak, and had the front to assert that the returns from the army there were greater in March last than in the preceding September.[2]

Burke published a letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, apologising for the secession of himself and his friends, on their inability of doing any good, and on his fear of their

[1] Which the Speaker, Norton, remembered, and returned in 1782.

[2] He said, too, that Governor Tryon had collected a body of 8000 Provincials, who would reinforce General Howe, and that the troops from Canada would get to the back of New England.

invenoming the spirit of acrimony in the Ministers. He entered most ably and severely on the war, and concluded with arrogantly ascribing all virtue to the little Rockingham-faction, recommending to everybody to join and follow them.

22*nd.* General Johnston, in a most able speech of two hours, moved several resolutions on Indian affairs, especially on the illegality of Lord Pigot's dispossession, and owned they were to lead to a bill for regulating those affairs. He touched on the bribery practised here by the Nabob of Arcott and his agent Macleane, which was even supposed to have gone *as high as possible.* He was seconded by Mr. Rous. Sir Herbert Mackworth moved for the previous question, and the Courtiers, after sneering at Johnston for bringing affairs before Parliament which he had always declaimed against having treated there, opposed the question on the ground of want of information. General Conway approved the motion on the absurdity of the Company, who had voted the restoration of Lord Pigot and his recall too. The House sat till 12, and the motion was rejected by 90 to 67. The Attorney-General was ill; the Solicitor-General and Lord George Germaine stayed away for private reasons.

The following day a job of the Ministers in the African Company was severely treated by Charles Fox. It was now known that Arthur Lee, one of the Deputies of the Congress, was gone to Berlin by invitation of the King of Prussia. This man had been in London, and was supposed to have been aimed at in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus.

The Ministers were forced to abandon the African job, which had been countenanced by the Board of Trade.

30*th.* The Lords having been acquainted by Lord

Camden that he had been desired by Lord Chatham to summon the House for a motion he intended to make, he appeared this day, it having been lately given out by his friends that he was perfectly recovered. He looked pale, and grown much older, and had one crutch. His voice was so low that it could not be heard to the end of the House, and little remained of his former fire, though his second speech was more spirited. He spake an hour, condemned all late measures, said he had expected war with France, but now thought the French would be wise, and leave us to ruin ourselves by wasting 8,000,000*l.* a year against our own Colonies. That if we could not conquer the Americans in 1775, should we be able to do it in 1777, when 3,000,000 of people had been disciplined? That our army must be destroyed the moment it got to any distance from the ships. At present we had not a single province in America; we had only a military station. He did not indeed approve of the Colonies declaring themselves independent; yet it was not too late, by repealing the repeated grievances they complained of, to reconcile their affections to this country. He then moved to address the King to prevent impending ruin from the continuation of an unnatural war, and to advise him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for that purpose by putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, and by the removal of accumulated grievances, promising that the House would enter upon that great and necessary work with cheerfulness and despatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British Colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of those invaluable possessions, &c. Lord Gower opposed the motion, and owned himself *a principal adviser of the late measures.* The Duke of Grafton supported the motion,

and took notice of the despotic spirit preached up by the clergy, particularly of a late sermon of the Archbishop of York (Markham) before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. That *sermon* had been printed, but not publicly sold; it was a base instance of servility, hoping to recover favour in the closet, and a libel on the Opposition. The Archbishop declared himself ready to defend every position in his sermon. Lord Lyttelton spoke for the Court, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Abingdon, and Lord Camden against it. Lord Weymouth, in answer to those who had reproached the Ministers with insisting on unconditional submission from the Colonies, *remarkably* denied that the Court held any such doctrine (though Lord George Germaine had positively asserted it in the other House). Lord Shelburne was still more severe on the Archbishop of York, who rose with most intemperate pride and fury, and said, that though, as a Christian and bishop, he ought to bear wrongs, there were injuries that would provoke any patience, and that he, if insulted, *should know how to chastise any petulance.* The Bishop of Peterborough (Hinchcliffe), though in Opposition, endeavoured to stop him, but not one of the Court supported or defended him, not even his friend Lord Mansfield, who only turned the debate to the question. Lord Mansfield owned all the ill success of the war, but pleaded that Lord Chatham's motion would not procure peace, and asked if his Lordship wished to have *all* the acts repealed? Lord Chatham cried out, "Yes, *all*; and even next Monday morning, I will come out of my bed to vote for that repeal." The day was a very unpropitious one to the Administration, who had nothing to say in defence of their measures. Lord Shelburne ridiculed the exaggerated accounts and lies of the war; said they had asserted the Colonies gave 30*l.* a

man for recruits, but it was 30 rixdollars; but he did not wonder that the ignorant head of the Treasury (Lord North), who had not known sterling from currency in the contract for rum, did not know pounds from rixdollars. He laughed too at Lord Sandwich's pompous accounts of American privateers of 6 guns being taken by men-of-war of 74. Lord Shelburne replied also to the prelate, that since his Lordship was so ready at means of resentment, it was a blessing for this nation that his Majesty, in his great wisdom, had removed him from the preceptorship to the heir to the Crown. The motion was rejected by 76 to 26, and by 23 proxies to 2. The sermon was publicly sold after this debate, and atoned, by no display of abilities, for the infamy of its doctrines, and for the slavish conduct on one hand, and arrogance on the other, of its author.

JUNE.

4th. LORD PERCY arrived from America, being dissatisfied with General Howe.

6th. The King put an end to the session. The Speech was exceedingly humbled in tone, and talked of maintaining the rights of the Legislature, and of re-establishing constitutional, not *unconditional*, obedience, which all subjects of a *free* state owe to the authority of law.

Accounts of Lord Cornwallis having defeated a party of Provincials and killed 800 men, and of Governor Tryon having destroyed a large magazine in Connecticut, which would greatly distress the Northern army; but he had

been attacked in his retreat, and narrowly brought off his men.

8th. The place of Treasurer of the Navy, which had been kept vacant since the death of Sir Gilbert Elliot, and was supposed to be reserved for Lord Howe, and was said by his family to have been promised him by Lord North, was given to Wellbore Ellis, who was succeeded as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland by Charles Townshend, Lord North's friend, and he at the Treasury by Lord Westcote, uncle of Lord Lyttelton.[1] Colonel Keene, Lord North's brother-in-law, was made Surveyor of the Board of Works in the room of Worseley, who was dying, and said to be dead, but was not. De Grey, son of the Chief Justice, was made a Lord of Trade; and in his room, as Groom of the Bedchamber, Charles Herbert, cousin of Lord Pembroke. The post of Treasurer of the Household, in the room of Sir John Shelley, who had not lately attended Parliament, was offered to the Earl of Carlisle; but not content with that, he insisted on a Crown living, then vacant, of 1100*l.* a year being given to his tutor, Mr. Ekin, which was granted. Mrs. Howe, Lord Howe's sister, was outrageously angry at her brother's disappointment, and told Colonel Keene the quarrel with Lord North was irreconcilable. The Howes were at this time not only Commanders-in-Chief, but had the pay of ambassadors too.

10th. Account of the Spaniards having taken the Isle of St. Catherine from the Portuguese.

27th. Dr. Dodd was executed, notwithstanding most extraordinary exertions had been made in his favour, though part only accelerated his fate. He was undoubtedly a

[1] When this Lord Lyttelton died suddenly in 1779, his uncle was the only representative of the ancient family, and in his person the ancient barony was revived in 1794.—D.

bad man, who employed religion to promote his ambition,—humanity to establish a character and, it is to be hoped, to indulge his good-natured sensations,—and any means to gratify his passions or vanity, and to extricate himself out of their distressing consequences. He was early a fashionable preacher, and though, I think, not a professed Methodist, leaning towards or connected with that sect; but his vices, pleasures, fondness for dress and luxury being less under command than the hypocritic self-denial of those more artful impostors, and his thirst for preferment being more impetuous than their patient appetite for solid power, he made use of their credit as a party, rather than addicted himself *to* their party. Having all the qualities of an ambitious man but judgment, he gladly stooped to rise, and married a kept mistress of Lord Sandwich, who, having another vice incidental to her profession, he encouraged her love of drinking, that he might be at liberty in the evenings to indulge himself in other amours. With such a sultana[2] and such a seraglio, he set up for the Apostle of the Magdalens. The late Earl of Chesterfield, ignorant of or indifferent to his character, committed his heir to his charge, and grew exceedingly partial to him; nor was his pupil's attachment alienated by the Doctor's attempt to make a simoniacal purchase of a Crown living from the Lord Chancellor.[3] Even his miscarriage in that overture

[2] She is the Mrs. Simony in Foote's farce of the 'Cozeners.'

[3] Dodd, whose character is not unfairly depicted by Walpole, who, however, hardly renders justice to his great talents, had, in 1774, written an anonymous letter to the wife of the Chancellor Bathurst, offering 2000*l.* for the nomination to the rectory of St. George's, Hanover Square. On the writer being discovered, George III. struck him off the list of Royal Chaplains. In the 'Life of Foote,' by Cooke, the writer affirms that Dodd completed in Newgate a play which he had commenced several years previously. For this assertion I can find no good grounds. In connection with the close of his life, it may be worthy of remark that, in 1772, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Frequency of Capital Punishments inconsistent with Justice, sound Policy, and Religion;' and that, two days before he forged the bond for 4200*l.* on Lord

he had in great measure surmounted by varied activity and by ostensible virtues in promoting all charitable institutions, in particular that excellent one for discharging prisoners for debt, of which he is said to have been the founder. Still were his pleasures indecently blended with his affected devotion; and in the intervals of his mission, he indulged in the fopperies and extravagance of a young Macaroni, both at Paris and the fashionable watering-places in his own country. The contributions of pious matrons did not, could not, keep pace with the expense of his gallantries: the urgency of his debts drove him on forgery. He forged a draft on his own pupil, Lord Chesterfield, and was instantly detected and seized, not having had the discretion to secure himself by flight: nor did the Earl discover that tender sensibility so natural to and so becoming in a young mind.

From that moment the Doctor's fate was a scene of protracted horrors, and could but excite commiseration in every feeling breast. Yet he seemed to deserve it, as he at once abandoned himself to his confusion, shame, and terror, and had at least the merit of acting no parade of fortitude. He swooned at his trial, avowed his guilt, confessed his fondness for life, and deprecated his fate with agonies of grief. Heroism under such a character had been impudence. As the Earl was not injured, the case happened to be mitigated. An informality in the trial raised the prisoner's hopes; and as the case was thought of weight enough to be laid before the judges, those hopes were increased; but his sufferings were only protracted, for the judges gave after

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Chesterfield, he preached for the last time, and his text was: "Among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; but the Lord shall give them a trembling heart and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have no assurance of thy life."—D.

some time an opinion against him—thus he endured a second condemnation. The famous advocate, Linguet, the outcast of France, and abhorred by all men of principle for his arbitrary doctrines, was now here, and published a magazine, in one number of which he censured the prolongation of the sufferings of condemned criminals. I was talking of this man at this very time to Lord Shelburne, and said, I did not doubt but Lord Mansfield would patronize him. Lord Shelburne replied, "You do not know how much you are in the right; I will tell you. It was but the other day that Lord Granby told me he wanted to improve himself in French, and that Lord Mansfield had recommended to him one Linguet as a very able master." Lord Mansfield had long been labouring to draw Lord Granby from Opposition, and now hoped this man would instil his detestable principles into him!

The malevolence of men and their good nature displayed themselves in their different characters against Dodd. His character appeared so bad to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, that he said, "I am sorry for Dr. Dodd." Being asked why? he replied, "Because he is to be hanged for the least crime he ever committed." Every unfavourable anecdote of his life was published, and one in particular that made deep impression. The young lord, his pupil, had seduced a girl, and when tired of her, had not forgotten the sacrifice she had made. He sent by Dr. Dodd her dismission and 1000*l.* The messenger had retained 900*l.* for his trouble. On the other hand, the fallen Apostle did not lose the hearts of his devotees. All his good deeds were set forth in the fairest light, and his labours in behalf of prisoners were justly stated in balance against a fraud that had proved innoxious. Warm and earnest supplications for mercy were addressed to the throne

in every daily paper, and even some very able pleas were printed in his favour. The Methodists took up his cause with earnest zeal: Toplady, a leader of the sect, went so far as to pray for him. Such application raised the criminal to the dignity of a confessor in the eyes of the people—but an inexorable judge had already pronounced his doom. Lord Mansfield, who never felt pity, and never relented unless terrified, had indecently declared for execution of the sentence even before the judges had given their opinion. An incident, that seemed favourable, weighed down the vigorous scale. The Common Council of London had presented a petition for mercy, to the King. Lord Mansfield, who hated the popular party as much as he loved severity, was not likely to be moved by such intercessors. At Court it grew the language that the King must discountenance such interposition; and, accordingly, on the report of the sentence, no regard was paid to the application. Lord Mansfield urged rigour, and even the Chancellor seconded it, though, as Dr. Dodd had offended him, it would have been more decent to take no part, if not a lenient one. The case of the Perreaus was cited, and in one newspaper it was barbarously said, that to pardon Dr. Dodd would be pronouncing that the Perreaus had been murdered. The necessity of establishing that forgery was an irremissible crime was the predominant opinion, and execution was ordered. Still the Methodists did not despair nor were remiss. They prevailed on Earl Percy, the popular member for Westminster, and now gracious to the people for his behaviour in America, to present a new petition for mercy, which, it was said, no fewer than 23,000 persons had subscribed: and such enthusiasm had been propagated in behalf of the wretched Divine, that on the eve of his death, a female Methodist stopped the King in

his chair, and poured out volleys of execrations on his inexorability. Such a symptom might have produced serious effects, and a bigoted party treated with contempt was not quite to be despised; at least, an attempt to rescue the criminal might be apprehended; nor was domestic valour the character either of the Court or the Chief Justice. Two thousand men were ordered to be reviewed in Hyde Park during the execution, which, however, though attended by an unequalled concourse of people, passed with the utmost tranquillity. The signal criminal suffered decently; but the expected commiseration was much drawn aside by the spectacle of an aged father, who accompanied his son, one Harris, who was executed for a robbery at the same time. The streaming tears, grey hairs, agony, and at last the appearance of a deadly swoon in the poor old man, who supported his son in his lap, deepened the tragedy, but rendered Dr. Dodd's share in it less affecting.

On the last day of the month, a scrutiny that had been demanded in favour of Wilkes against Hopkins, who was again returned for Chamberlain of London, was decided in favour of the latter by a majority of some hundreds. This was a striking contrast to the Court's severity to Dr. Dodd. Hopkins was supported by all the influence of the Administration, though notoriously guilty of a worse act than Dodd. He had made so usurious a bargain for a loan of money with Sir John St. Aubyn, a baronet in his minority, that the Legislature had thought fit to interpose by a law against such contracts.

JULY.

2*nd*. It was proved to the satisfaction of the jury, on a trial before the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, between Morande and the famous Chevalier Deon, that the latter was of the female sex.[1] Morande was an infamous fellow, who had been forced to leave France on publishing a scandalous libel called the 'Gazettier Cuirassé,' and had been intimate with, and then quarrelled with Deon.

5*th*. An express arrived from the Duchess of Gloucester for Dr. Jebbe and Mr. Adair, the Duke of Gloucester being dangerously ill at Verona. The King's ill usage and the little hope he had of seeing provision made for his family, had sunk deep into his mind, and the heats and unwholesomeness of Verona had thrown him into great weakness and wasting. At Padua he was seized with a dysentery, but it stopped; yet at Verona he grew so weak and unable to bear the heat, that Bryant, his surgeon, advised his returning to England; and his danger increased so fast, that he was taken out of his bed and put into his post chaise. He got to Trent, seemed to mend

[1] The case was between Hayes, a surgeon, and Jaques, an underwriter; and it was tried to settle a wager, Jaques having bound himself (on receiving a premium) to pay Hayes a certain sum whenever the fact was established that d'Eon was a woman. Morande was a witness, and gave such testimony that no human being could doubt the fact of d'Eon belonging to the female sex; only that Morande was altogether unworthy of credit. But two French medical men gave equally conclusive evidence (if they could be believed), and the jury (before whom d'Eon himself did not appear) returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with seven hundred and two pounds damages! Very large bets were depending on the result of this absurd trial.—D.

by the journey and by the coolness of the air from the mountains; but his flux returned, and he was again confined to his bed for some days. When Adair carried the Duchess's letter to Court, the King for some time would not admit him, and when he did, asked no questions, and looked out of humour. The next day, on reflection or on advice, he acted great concern, said he was glad his dear brother was coming home, gave orders for relays of horses for the physicians, and shed tears to Stiel, the Duke's head domestic.

About the 10*th*, accounts from General Howe that he had not received camp equipage for the army till the 24th of May, and was then preparing to take the field. Thus the whole camp equipage had been forced again to be sent hence.

American privateers swarmed on all our coasts, kept Ireland and Scotland under alarms, and interrupted all their trade. Several pieces of cannon were mounted on the harbour of Dublin. The provocations from France grew as crying, and memorials passed reciprocally on captures and grievances, and war was daily expected; but Jenkinson was again despatched to Paris to sue and mitigate. Most of the Ministers grew frightened, and almost all were casting the blame on each other. Mackensie and his wife were going to Italy, which looked as if he foresaw a storm.

25*th*. Accounts that General Howe had marched, but found General Washington so strongly intrenched that he did not dare to attack him, and had marched back to New York. This showed strange want of intelligence of Washington's position, and proved that the Provincials were no friends to Government, as the latter pretended, when they had no spies amongst them. This news was a

deep blow to the Court, and the Scotch declaimed with the greatest violence against the Howes. At the same time was confirmed the account of the taking of the Fox man-of-war by the Provincials.

The Court, to palliate these disgraces, gave out that Lord Stormont's remonstrances had had great weight, and that, though the French Court declared they *would* trade with the Provincials, they had forbidden their privateers to stay above twenty-four hours in their ports. However, news immediately came that Cunningham, the privateer who had taken and carried the packet boat to Dunkirk, had been ordered out, and not to take any English ship till out in full sea, had immediately taken nine prizes.

Besides these distresses, there was the greatest want of money and even of specie, men growing frightened and hoarding their coin; bankers would not discount notes, and it was with great difficulty the Ministers prevailed on the Bank to assist them. Though the debts of the Crown had been voted, none were paid till the last week in July; the money being supposed to be employed for the American services, or to corrupt the French Ministers, Mons. de Vergennes in particular being supposed a pensioner of Lord Stormont.

28*th*. The French Ambassadress, Madame de Noailles, arrived, to blind us, if we would be blinded.

AUGUST.

At the beginning of the month letters arrived from General Burgoyne, which said he was marched with the Canadian army, and was within six miles of Ticonderoga. With his letters he sent over two papers that were standards of ridiculous bombast. One was his *talk* with the Indian nations, the other his manifesto to the revolted Colonies, penned with such threats of his arms, as would expose him to derision if he failed, and would diminish the lustre of his success if he obtained any. Burgoyne was fond of writing, and did not want eloquence, but judgment extremely. The Ministers affected great spirits on the victories he promised, though they laughed at his pomp.

An account of General Howe being attacked on his embarking. Mr. Finch, Lord Aylesford's brother, was killed, but the Americans lost three pieces of cannon. The troops, who were weary of being shut up in New York, and had expected to be led against Washington, whom they flattered themselves with defeating, and then that they should plunder and share the conquered lands amongst them, were very unwilling to embark and be carried they knew not whither. Howe, too, had kept up no discipline, but suffered great drunkenness and gaming in their quarters.

General Prescot surprised out of his quarters by the Americans, as General Lee had been by the Royalists.

The Fox man-of-war, and the Hancock, that had taken it, retaken by Sir George Collier.

22*nd*. An account of General Burgoyne being master of Ticonderoga. The red riband was offered to Lord Derby for Burgoyne, but the latter, who had expected it before he had done anything to deserve it, had left directions with Lord Derby to refuse it. The King, on receiving the account of taking Ticonderoga, ran into the Queen's room, crying, "I have beat them! beat all the Americans!"

SEPTEMBER.

Lord Abingdon[1] published his answer to Mr. Burke's letter to the sheriffs of Bristol. He was a singular young man, not quite void of parts, but rough, wrongheaded, extremely underbred, but warmly honest. He had been bred at Geneva, and had thoroughly imbibed principles of liberty. He was a sportsman, and is ridiculed by Voltaire in one of the cantos of the 'Guerre de Genève.' Zealous in opposition to the American war, and eager in every pursuit without any knowledge of the world, he was at this time ruined by horse-racing. His pamphlet was bold, spirited, and severe, and much above what was expected from him, the arguments being shrewd and clear, and destructive of Burke's sophistry, which was always tinged with monarchic and high ecclesiastic principles, and always reserved loopholes for displaying his real principles, if ever he should become a minister of the Crown. Lord Abing-

[1] Willoughby, the fourth Earl. He died in 1799, in his sixtieth year.—D.

don was destitute of art and did not aim at eloquence, but his plain dealing and severe truths were far more detrimental to the Court than the laboured subterfuges and inconsistent Jesuitism of Burke.

16*th*. Simon, Earl of Harcourt,[2] was found drowned in an old well in a wood at his own park at Nuneham, aged sixty-four. It appeared that his dog had fallen in, and that the Earl, endeavouring to recover him, had lost his poise and fallen in himself. The dog was on the body, but could not get out.

Accounts from Burgoyne of the great difficulties he had found in passing the woods, where the Provincials had felled trees to embarrass them. He found the whole country wasted, and met with none but women on his march, who could give him no intelligence. The Provincials abandoned Fort Edward to him, which he took possession of; but the Ministers were so confounded by Howe's expedition, when they wished he should have gone to the North and endeavour to get Washington between him and Burgoyne, that they sent orders to Burgoyne not to advance beyond Albany till he could hear from and concert with Howe.

The French at this time seemed cooler towards the Provincials, either from thinking the latter sufficiently secure of maintaining themselves, or from wishing to force the Colonies into stricter conjunction with them than the latter chose.

At the same time, France, in concert with Spain, who had made peace with Portugal, insisted on Portugal's accession to the Family Compact. Count Virri, the Sar-

[2] The first Earl and second Viscount, and son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. He had filled the offices of Ambassador to France, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. As Ambassador Extraordinary, he escorted Queen Charlotte to England.—D.

dinian Ambassador, was recalled from Paris, and totally disgraced, on its being discovered, as was believed, that his wife (Mrs. Harriet Spred, an Englishwoman) had been bribed by Lord Stormont, and betrayed to him like negotiations at the court of Turin.

OCTOBER.

THE whole month of September had passed without any intelligence of or from the Howes. They had promised to write on making good their landing, but had not communicated to Administration a syllable of their plan. Lord George Germaine, on the application of merchants to him for intelligence so late as the end of October, declared he knew nothing of their intentions; and more privately, even when he did hear of them, declared how they had frustrated all his views, and that he now despaired of success from the American war. Lord Mansfield had owned he should despair too if this campaign was not very prosperous. Scarce any of the other Ministers were more sanguine. Lord Weymouth was for peace at any rate; yet, on Rigby's desponding, said, they had nothing for it (*i. e.* for safety of their heads) but going on. General Harvey, the King's military favourite, condemned the war. The nation, from impatience for news, grew much dissatisfied, and the Howes were infinitely abused, and accused of thinking of nothing but their vast profits. The King alone had been so wound up by the Scotch and the Junto, that he would hear of nothing but

another campaign. New subsidiary levies were attempted in Germany, though it was impossible to raise troops enough there to recruit even the unavoidable losses of the present campaign; and the Government was forced to purchase old East India ships to transport provisions to Quebec, to be carried round by the circuit Burgoyne had made (though with applause) to maintain his army. Russia had peremptorily refused to let a Russian go to America; but the Czarina, who burnt with resentment for the obstructions France had given her in the Turkish war, as well as for having blown up and endeavoured to rekindle it, offered, if we had war with France, to garrison Hanover, to lend us eighteen ships-of-the-line, and as many frigates, and to land 60,000 men on the coast of France, as she had long been desirous of doing. About this time the Czarina having proposed to the Emperor of China to lay waste a large district that separated their dominions, and for which they had been near going to war, that it might occasion no breach of their peace, he gave her no answer, but addressed a letter to the Russians, telling them that a woman, who called herself Empress of Russia, had proposed to him to lay waste a country that belonged to him, and with which he knew better what to do; but he wondered that the Russians continued to let themselves be governed by a woman that had murdered her own husband.

6*th*. A Captain Blackbourne in a frigate arrived at Margate from New York, and deposed that Burgoyne was got to Albany, that three attempts had been made on New York and Long Island since Howe's absence, and had all been repulsed by Clinton, with the loss to the Provincials of 400 killed and 300 taken, and that the Howes had landed at Elk in the bay of Chesapeake, and had burnt

a vast magazine. The arrival of Burgoyne at Albany was not confirmed; the destruction of the magazine was false. Clinton wrote a confirmation of the three attacks on him, and their repulses, to General Harvey; but he had neither cannons sufficient nor 500 men to spare to march towards Burgoyne. Clinton was much dissatisfied with General Howe, and said it was only from a point of honour that he did not ask to be recalled. Three more weeks elapsed before any more was heard of the Howes.

General Haldiman, a Swiss, had been, not very legally, named to succeed Carleton as Governor of Quebec, and not very wisely, as he was fitter for a partizan than for the civil and military government. But he had been a witness for Lord George Germaine on his trial after the battle of Minden, as Carleton had been a witness against him. Haldiman went to Plymouth to embark, but was recalled; and it was suspected that Lord George was afraid of the return of Carleton, who was coming back inveterate to him, wounded by the affront offered to his brother, and by the preference given to Burgoyne. He had sternly rejected all honours and emoluments that had been offered to pacify him.

22*nd.* The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester and their children and suite landed at Dover, and on the

24*th*, arrived at Gloucester House. The motives of their return sooner than they had intended, and many singular circumstances relating to them, I reserved to this place, that their history might not be interrupted, but be better understood.

Some time previous to the motion in Parliament for the payment of the King's debts, Sir Edward Walpole, the Duchess's father, who had in the early part of his life

been much acquainted with Lord George Germaine, and had heartily hated him, had, from being violent against the Americans, taken a contrary turn, and grown very partial to Lord George. Hearing of the intended motion for the King's debts, Sir Edward, without consulting the Duke or Duchess, and without acquainting me, had written a most flattering letter to Lord George, commending his great abilities, which indeed he had, and begging Lord George to get payment of the Duke's debts, and a farther provision for his Royal Highness, added to the intended bill. Lord George, after a day or two, returned a mere official answer, saying he could propose no such thing without the King's consent, nor, without it, could support it; that the only way of obtaining what he wished was for the Duke himself to make his peace; and that no time was to be lost. In truth, had not the motion been deferred much longer than was intended, it would have been next to impossible for Sir Edward to have acquainted the Duke, who was at Rome, with Lord George's advice, and for the Duke to have returned an answer, even had there been no difficulty in effecting the reconciliation.

Sir Edward, not discouraged, sent one Roberts, an apothecary's son, in whom Sir Edward had great confidence, to Lord George, with great commendations of the young man's sense and fidelity (which indeed he proved), pressing Lord George to be more explicit. Roberts executed his trust so well, that Lord George opened himself, and spoke with so much cordiality, that, after a letter or two, Lord George went to Sir Edward, repeated what he had said to Roberts, and added much more, of both which conversations this was the sum:—

Lord George said, that from the moment he had entered into the King's service, he had declared himself an indepen-

dent man, and had told Lord North he would be so, and should be ready to resign his post at any time. That he had constantly avowed his attachment to the Duke of Gloucester; and that, though Lord North and other ministers had told him he would do himself no good by that zeal, he had always continued, and had told the Ministers, the Duke's children must be provided for as of the Royal family. That he had even held that language to the King himself; and once in his Majesty's hearing had said to the Ministers, "It is evident the Duke of Gloucester's children are of the blood royal, *for they cannot, by the Royal Marriage Act, marry without the consent of the Crown.*" This was certain, and by far the most irrefragable argument that had ever been used.

Sir Edward asked Lord George's advice, whether the Duke and Duchess should immediately come over. He answered, not yet; but advised the Duke should come over alone next winter, and ask leave to see the King; that the King could not refuse to see him, and that the reception of the Duchess and the children, and an establishment for all, would afterwards come of course in some time.

Sir Edward, transported with so fair a commencement of his negotiation, wrote an account to the Duke, and before he sent away his letter showed it to me, and acquainted me with what had passed. I was very far from admiring what he had done, or from having the same opinion of Lord George, for many reasons, which I will truly relate, as no doubt I was prejudiced against him. In the first place, for the very cause my brother liked him, his activity against the Americans. Till Lord George came into place, there had been no spirit or sense in the conduct of the war. The Scotch had been incredibly industrious in poisoning the minds of the King and the

nation against them, and in promoting the most cruel and unjust acts; but the laziness of Lord North, the scruples of Lord Dartmouth, who voted for the worst measures, but was supine or unwilling to execute them, the inability of the commanders, and the jobbing partiality of Lord Sandwich (though active enough) in the choice of admirals, commodores, and captains, had given the Americans full time to put themselves on their guard. Added to this, Lord George, from jealousy, never from cause, had been a constant enemy of my dear friend, General Conway; and yet, during Lord George's disgrace, I had persevered in not abandoning him, having long been acquainted with him, his father, mother, and sister; and I, Sir John Irwine, and Mr. Brand had been the only three men in England who had dared to speak to or sit by Lord George in public places. Yet, when I visited him on his being Secretary of State, he did not return my visit, which Ministers do not; but I thought I had done too much to excuse *his* pleading such a ceremonial. Indeed his preferment I had not doubted was owing to his having been one of those who had attached themselves to the Duke of Gloucester. George Onslow and Sir W. Meredith had been promoted for that sole reason, and showed they had, by deserting the Duke. I had early suspected the same thing was meditated by, and would happen to, Lord George, and had warned the Duchess not to trust him. When he went into place, he vowed to the Duke he was glad of it, as it would give him opportunities of showing himself his Royal Highness's friend; and he has kept his word nobly and boldly since!

It was too late to blame what my brother had done; and he was a father, I but uncle. Yet I could not conceal from him that I feared the Duke would by no

means be pleased with the step he had taken; and so it proved, for though his Royal Highness sent Sir Edward a dispassionate and sensible answer, he was exceedingly hurt at the transaction. I took the liberty, too, to hint to Sir Edward what I really very much apprehended, that Lord George might be acting a very treacherous part to pay his court to the King; that by drawing the Duke over alone he might be absolutely sacrificing the Duchess without obtaining any establishment for her and her children. I did not doubt, I said, but the King would receive the Duke alone; but should he afterwards refuse to receive the Duchess, could the Duke quarrel with him for the refusal, when he had thrown himself alone into the King's arms? or how could he insist on a settlement when he had made no terms? I said, I did not mean to injure Lord George, but that I thought it right and necessary, when the whole interest of the Duke and his family was at stake, that his Royal Highness should at least hear counsel on both sides before he determined what he would do.

Sir Edward heard me with great patience and temper, and said there was a great deal in my objections; and though he was persuaded of Lord George's sincerity, he allowed it was right to give the Duke every caution. Our nephew, Lord Cholmondeley, he added, intends going to see the Duke, and each of us will state and send by him to the Duke our arguments in writing. I did not contradict him, but I did not intend to give what I had said in writing, that hereafter might fall into the hands of the King or Lord George; and new events soon made this step unnecessary.

The Duke and Duchess had left Rome and gone to Venice for the Ascension, intending to pass the hot months, that were very unfavourable to him, in the mountains of

Switzerland, return to Rome for the winter, and come home in the spring for the summer months, as the Duchess was impatient to see her three daughters by Lord Waldegrave, of whom she was extremely fond. The heats of the season and of the theatres, and the sudden chill on going into gondolas, were too much for the Duke's diseased constitution, nor was he ever above two years without some grievous crisis. To natural infirmity and accidental colds was added the anxiety of his mind, from mortifications, from his debts, and from the uncertitude of the future destiny of his family, should he drop. The King's obdurate cruelty, and the coldness with which the House of Commons had rejected Sir James Lowther's motion in favour of the two Royal Dukes, were new stabs to the Duke of Gloucester, and threw him into the most violent and desperate diarrhœa at Padua. He got to Verona, whence, the heat proving insupportable, he was lifted into a post-chaise, and with great difficulty transported to Trent. The Emperor of Germany had a great friendship for the Duke, and passing through Inspruck while the Duke was ill at Trent, publicly expressed great concern at not having time to go to him! This was written to England, and, with the comment of the Duchess's words I have quoted, and which were in one of her letters by the post, which probably were always opened, might contribute to the King's letter what I shall mention presently, as Sir Edward was told by good authority that the King had been alarmed with the Emperor's intending, if his Majesty was not reconciled to the Duke, to offer his Royal Highness any establishment at Vienna consistent with the Duke's inclination and religion. It might have been written to the King from Germany, as the Emperor did not love the King, and was very capable of having declared such an

intention. The Duke, after his return, told me himself that the Emperor had formerly asked him if he was married? The Duke said it was hard to ask him what he had not told to his own brother the King. "Well," said the Emperor, "I will not press it; but, if you are not married, and like the woman, I advise you to marry her. Formerly there were foolish prejudices about mésalliances, but Europe has got over them. I can tell you, if you ever hear I am married, it will be to some woman I like." At Trent the Duke declared himself dying of a broken heart. The Duchess, distracted with grief, wrote to beseech Dr. Jebbe and Mr. Adair to come to the Duke, though she had no prospect of their arriving in time to find him alive. To overwhelm her completely, the young Prince her son, a remarkably strong child, fell ill and wasted, and, as she apprehended, of the disorder transmitted with his blood. Her own pathetic expressions can best paint her agonies:—"I cannot bear to lose him," said she, "though I have no better prospect for him than a commission in the Austrian service."

Bryant, a surgeon, page to the Duke, gave such an account of the Duke's danger, that Dr. Jebbe and Mr. Adair determined to set out that night. Adair went directly to Court to show the King the letter. The King, though apprised of the contents of the letter, made him wait above an hour; and when Lord Jersey, the Lord in Waiting, said Adair had no time to lose, the King looked out of humour, called in Adair, read the letter, but said not a word. Some hours after, when both went to receive his Majesty's commands, upon recollection or advice, he expressed great anxiety about his dear brother, said he had always thought his leaving England wrong, gave orders for

post-horses and messengers, but did not send a word of message by them to his *dear* brother.

The Duke continued growing worse and worse, and weaker and weaker. Sometimes some symptoms were more favourable; but on the 25th of August he was seized in the most dangerous and violent manner, with excruciating pain in his thigh and leg; and though the weather was sultry, and he had suffered infinitely by it, he grew so cold that he could not be kept warm with three bottles of boiling water in the bed: cold sweats came on, his speech grew inarticulate, and the rattle in his throat began. Bryant wrote that he would probably be dead in four hours; and as the disorder in his bowels stopped, the physicians thought the mortification begun. The Duchess had been six weeks constantly in his chamber, and lay by his bed; nor quitted it but unavoidably. She wrote to her daughter, Lady Laura, "When I am from him I see no soul; I only weep and pray." After sitting twelve hours by him at his extremity, expecting to see him expire, the physicians forced her out of the room. "I hope," said the Duke, "I shall die now while she is gone!" As soon as she had left him, she asked Dr. Jebbe if he had never known anybody recover that was so bad? He burst into tears and said, "Madam, you know the Duke has been three months ill; I cannot flatter you!"

Words could not, nor is it necessary to paint the Duchess's situation if he had died. The Duke had exacted a promise from her not to send his body by sea, but to attend it herself by land. To travel with the dead body, and with her two infants, through Germany and France, to be gazed at by curious crowds of strangers at inns, to be totally uncertain whether she or her children

would have a maintenance, or even whether wickedness and revenge would not try to dispute the validity of her marriage and their birth, hopeless of ever having it in her power to reward the few friends that had stuck faithful to the Duke and her, and to return an object of triumphant insult to a Queen and a sex that envied the success of her beauty, it is no wonder, as she said herself, that she expected madness would be the term of her miseries!

That a great Prince, exiled and dying, should excite every sentiment of pity in a people secured by mountains from being tainted and hardened by a Court, is not extraordinary; it is natural. The patience of the Duke, his and the Duchess's virtues, and her familiarity and condescension, won so rapidly on the good people of Trent, that, though he was a Protestant, the Ursuline nuns said masses for his recovery, and the people imagined they had a prophecy that the brother of a great King would recover of a dangerous illness in their city.

A poor Trentine little girl that attended the Royal children was the first that seemed to administer any relief to the Duke's dreadful sufferings. He imagined he could eat potatoes: not one was to be found in twenty miles. The little maid, hearing great inquiries after potatoes, asked what they were, and desired to have them described to her. She thought she recollected having seen such roots in a convent out of the town. She ran thither, and returned with four, which the Duke ate, and wished for more; but the convent was shut, and the poor child could procure no more till the next morning. But Nature no doubt had effected the miracle already. The crisis of the humour had turned itself to the leg (which swelled immoderately), and cleared the bowels.

Four days after the crisis, a new and most unexpected

event secured the Duke's recovery, by relieving his mind as much as the tumour had tranquillized his bowels. Though Colonel Jennings, who was come to visit him, had extorted a decent message from the King after one repulse, the total indifference, the marked neglect of the Court, in servile complaisance with their master, was so indecent, that Lord Weymouth, so far from expressing even the civility of concern, did not so much as answer one of the constant accounts which Dr. Jebbe sent of the Duke's situation. Provoked at such brutal rudeness, the doctor at last addressed his letters to Lord George Germaine, who answered them as punctually.

Thus abandoned to neglect and despair, how was the Duke surprised at receiving a most kind and cordial letter from the King, in which his Majesty protested "that his affection for his dear brother *had never been altered*, and never should cease; and that, lest anxiety should augment his danger, his Majesty, in case of a fatal termination, gave his dear brother his Royal word that he would take care of his *Family*."

The poor Duke received this astonishing reprieve with calmness and faint satisfaction, and with a trembling hand acknowledged gratefully the fraternal medicine to his anguish. He had even command enough of himself to manage the King's shame, and thank him for his intended goodness to his family, without mentioning the name of his Duchess.

But before I proceed, I must relate by how extraordinary an engine this letter was wrung from his Majesty's insensibility—or rather suggested to his hypocrisy. The account will be a clue to a labyrinth of as unkingly sentiments as ever entered into a Royal composition.

I have said that Colonel Jennings had taken post to

visit the Duke. Jennings was a young officer of parts, but wild, bold, and free. He was a servant of the Duke of Cumberland, but much more devoted to the Duke of Gloucester. Arriving at Trent, and finding the Duke at the extremity, ill lodged, and lying in a hammock (as it had been found necessary to preserve the circulation of his blood by swinging him), incapable of articulating, the physicians in despair, the Duchess half distracted, and the whole family plunged in misery and distress, Jennings sat down and wrote a letter to Colonel Rainsford, one of the Duke's Grooms of the Bedchamber, in which he let loose a torrent of abuse and treason on the King, painted his own horror on finding the Duke in so deplorable a condition, which he pathetically described, and declared that nothing but a kind letter from the King could give a chance of saving his Royal Highness's life, and that his Majesty had not a moment to lose if he had a wish of preserving his brother. Jennings protested, his conscience and duty compelled him to give the King this solemn notice, declared he neither feared nor hoped for himself, and insisted, as Rainsford would answer it to the King, the Duke, and the public, that he would, without a moment's delay, carry this very letter himself to his Majesty. Rainsford was thunderstruck at so outrageous a remonstrance, and carried it to Dr. Duval, Canon of Windsor, and formerly the Duke's preceptor. Duval was no less terrified, and agitated between the insult of the language and affection to the Duke, he knew not what to determine, but carried the letter to the deanery to the Bishop of Exeter, the Duchess's brother-in-law. The Bishop, poor, and loaded with four unprovided children, could not be expected to stake his fortune with the same honest rashness as Jennings. At last, they copied out the letter,

omitting the harshest and treasonable expressions, but preserving the description of the Duke's situation, and the strong adjurations to the King; and Duval carried the letter to his Majesty's favourite page.

When the Duke of Cumberland heard the King had seen Jennings's letter, he said, "Jennings has undone us!" but Jennings's spirit was fittest to deal with so ignoble a nature. The King was alarmed, and said it was a very strong letter indeed; and either through fear or shame he immediately wrote the memorable letter I have quoted.

Tenderness or remorse might more justly be supposed to have dictated the contents, if, in the very moment of penning it, the King himself had not betrayed the base and unworthy motives of his own conduct. They who knew him best did suspect it was but a tribute paid to ostentation, and that he flattered himself the Duke would be breathless before the letter could reach him. Still, as it must fall into the Duchess's hand, the purport must be known; and though the *measure* of provision remained in the King's breast, and would probably be mean enough, and that amidst the apparent gush of feelings his Majesty had reserved coolness enough to omit the Duchess's name, and that he was artfully equivocal enough to be capable of interpreting his own words as confined to the children: still no man living was black enough or hostile enough to the King to fathom all the depths of his deliberate dissimulation and treachery. It must be told, as a lesson to Princes never to stoop to all the tricks their hearts may suggest, for Kings must have instruments, and what they venture to command those instruments may venture to divulge. Nay, their own folly may counteract their own artifice—as it happened now, for the letter found the Duke alive and was delivered to him. The King had no doubt

intended to boast of how fraternal a letter he had written, but was insidious enough to design to suppress the promise. I speak by authority. The Duchess, on her return, provoked at a reception so abhorrent from the unalterable affection the King had vowed to his dear brother, disclosed the whole of the Royal scandalous machination. The King had given his letter to Legrand, the Duke's former governor and now his treasurer, a plain, honest, dull man, incapable of deviating from a Royal command, with orders to transmit it to Colonel Heywood, one of the Duke's gentlemen with him at Trent, to be delivered to the Duke if alive; if not, Heywood was commanded—can it be believed?—to return the letter to the King, with strict injunctions not to mention it. The King must have feared that Heywood would pry into or divine the contents of the promise; but Heywood was so honest, so incapable of suspecting such blackness, or so shocked at it, that he revealed it to the Duchess, whose indignation was so great, that, without foreseeing the consequences, she ran into the Duke's chamber, and acquainted him with what Heywood had just told her. The Duke, who had supported the revival of his hopes with decent fortitude, could not stand so treacherous a stab; he broke out into a most passionate exclamation, and was again hurried to the brink of the grave by the agitation he was thrown into in so emaciated and exhausted a state. What had been the consequence to the King? Was it possible that any terror or interest could have gagged the lips of so warm and affectionate a woman, had her husband expired on discovering the treachery couched under a letter that affected to be the panacea of all his sorrows and sufferings? She must have vented the fatal secret in the first transports of her grief—and Charles I. would no longer have been deemed the

falsest of mankind, for confiding to his Queen that he did not intend to keep his promises to his enemies: but those enemies were not his own expiring brothers.

I declare in the most solemn manner that the Duchess of Gloucester herself told me this story—HORACE WALPOLE.

The Duchess sent an account of the King's letter to her family, but enjoining silence on the promise. Too many persons, however, both at Trent and in England, were made privy to the whole for it to remain concealed. I obeyed the injunction; but being at liberty about the rest, I took care to spread the account of the King's protestations, both as they would bind him, if he had any feeling of honour, and as I knew more surely that the whole court would be alarmed, and cautious of fomenting the quarrel, when they should think they saw that the King's affection for his brother might be capable of returning; though some no doubt, who had behaved ill both to the Duke and Duchess, would endeavour to prevent the reconciliation.

I was not a little surprised, as I was answering the Duchess's letter, on receiving a visit from Lord George Germaine. I immediately said, "My Lord, I have been doubting whether I should not come and thank your Lordship, as the author of the Duke's receiving a letter from the King, of which I have just received an account, but did not, because I thought it more respectful to interpret it as flowing singly from the King's own goodness." Lord George approved my behaviour, but said unguardedly, "Pray show me the Duchess's account, for I ought to know the contents, that I may be prepared to speak on them." This proved to me that *he* had known nothing of the matter, and made me still more cautious of trusting to him.

On the 24*th*, as I have said, the Duke and Duchess arrived. He was much recovered, and had only a swelled leg and lameness remaining. She was emaciated, and looked older, and showed how much she had suffered.

I was hurt at the Duke's suffering Sir Edward Walpole to kneel and kiss his hand. It was too Royal a reception of a father; but the King himself had not more of the Prince than the Duke had. The Duchess often told me that the Duke, offended at the ill breeding of the Luttrells, had more than once said to her there was a comfort in conversing with Sir Edward and me, for we were gentlemen, and ever treated her with as much respect as him. I said, "Madam, you shall never be reproached on my account with ill behaviour of your family. I carry this so far, that often when the Duke bids me sit down, I decline it, and not so much out of respect to him as to his attendants. I have no notion of sitting when Colonel Rainsford and Colonel Heywood stand, who are as good gentlemen as myself. I go and sit in the outward room when I can stand no longer, unless the Duke bids me sit down by him to talk to me. They would hate *me*, and even *you*, Madam, if I assumed any airs as your uncle." In truth I determined, if ever the Duke and Duchess went to Court and were treated according to their rank, to relax a little of my great respect to him, for though he was really a good man and a respectable Prince, he was too proud of his Royal blood; and though it was excusable to support his dignity, when almost all the world slighted him, he was not likely to relax when he should receive greater consideration. His common understanding had nothing shining, yet he never said a weak thing—and when his own interests were attacked and injured, it was impos-

sible to have more quickness, or to argue, judge, and reply with more presence of mind and propriety.

On the morning of the 25*th* the Duke wrote to Lord George Germaine, to desire he would ask the King when his Royal Highness might have leave to pay his duty to the King, and thank his Majesty for his letter.

In the evening, Lord George answered by letter, that he had laid his Royal Highness's letter before the King, who was very glad to hear of his brother's arrival. As to the demand of an audience, his Majesty would take time to consider on his answer; "and by what I can *collect*," added Lord George, "his Majesty will not send an answer very soon."

Thus was the unalterable affection already evaporated! Here was a confirmation of his Majesty's insincerity, and a confirmation of the message to Colonel Heywood. The Duke said to me, "Lord George delivered the letter at St. James's; by taking time, the King meant, for consulting the Queen." I said, "Sir, I beg your Royal Highness's pardon, but I believe it means, time to draw up conditions that you shall come without the Duchess." It proved, that taking time meant nothing but that the King did not mean to see the Duke at all.

The Duke of Cumberland some time before had written by Lord George Germaine to the King, offering his service on board the fleet. Lord George told Lord North that he was going with that letter to the King, and added, "My Lord, I do not ask your approbation, I am not dependent on you; but I do not think it handsome to take such a step without acquainting my brother Ministers." Lord North replied, "Your Lordship treads on slippery ground." "My Lord," answered Lord George, "I

know how to make my footing good." And Lord George Germaine now acquainted the Duke of Gloucester that he would pay his duty to his Royal Highness on the following Monday, and did. He told the Duke that he had acquainted Lord North that he was going in to the King with the Duke's letter, told him the purport, and asked him what he thought would come of it? "Nothing," said Lord North. "But does not your Lordship hope something will come of it?" said Lord George. Lord North was out of countenance, and muttered something indistinctly. Lord George pressed, and asked him if it was the interest of Ministers to have the Royal family divided? but could get no explicit answer. He had put the same questions to Lord Weymouth, who had the decency to say he hoped the application would be successful. Lord George farther told the Duke, that finding the King silent as to the request of an audience, he had pressed him for an answer, and told him he himself must send one to the Duke. The King evaded, but on Lord George's persisting, the King had ordered him to say that by what he could *collect*, the answer would not come soon. Lord George had scratched under the word, for that reason. Lord George added (certainly by direction), that if his Royal Highness would go to Court without the Duchess, he would be received whenever he pleased; and owned that he did not doubt but the Queen was the obstacle to the Duchess's reception. The Duke replied, "My Lord, the Duchess and her whole family have pressed me to go without her; but without talking of my love for her, I cannot for my own honour. *The Duchess*[1] *has been received*

[1] The Arch-Duchess, wife of the Duke of Saxe-Teischen, being at Rome at the same time with the Duchess of Gloucester, had yielded precedence to her, as the Duke of Gloucester took place of a Prince of Saxony.

as my wife at every Court where I have been; the House of Austria have been so kind to us, that had I been able, I should have carried her to Vienna. *Can* I, my Lord, by waiving my wife's rank and appearing in the Drawing Room without her, *affront all those Courts*, and say I have presented to them as my wife a woman whom I could not carry to my brother's circle? I shall go abroad again, my Lord; must I leave her behind me, because I could not present her again as my Duchess?" Lord George owned himself convinced; but showing that he had powers to negotiate, he said, that if the Duke would be content to go to St. James's alone, the King would send the whole Court to pay their duty to the Duchess. The Duke said, "My Lord, the Duchess is certainly mistress in her own house, as every other woman is, without their attendance—but come, my Lord," said he, "the King loves a *mezzotermine*. Tell him, I will come to him in private, but I never will appear in the Drawing Room without the Duchess. I am ill and lame; the King, if he pleases, may tell his Ministers that is the reason I do not appear publicly." Lord George seemed to think the compromise would be accepted. He spoke strongly of a settlement on the Duke and his family, and said it must be this very winter, he would not cease pressing on the King the necessity of it.[2]

I pressed both the Duke and Duchess to submit to any possible terms, provided they could obtain a settlement on the Duchess and her children, and urging that such an act would be the strongest confirmation of the validity of the marriage; suspecting, I own, from the King's duplicity,

[2] The King asked Lord George how the Duchess looked? He replied, "So handsome, Sir, that I thought the Duke excusable for marrying her." Soon after the Duke arrived, the Prince of Wales, as much watched as he was, sent him privately a very kind message.

that if the Duke should die, he would be capable of trying to set aside the marriage; and the Parliament had shown itself slavish enough not to stick at anything, however heinously black soever, that should be demanded of them. The Duke said, "Make yourself easy, Sir, the Duchess's title is already acknowledged and confirmed by Act of Parliament. She is expressly named in one!" I stared. "Yes," continued the Duke, "when we wanted to sell Gloucester Lodge, it was necessary the King should give me the freehold of it by Act of Parliament. Such an act did pass; we are both expressly named in it, and even part of the ground by the term of the *Waldegrave Inclosure*. The King would not go to pass it, to avoid hearing the Duchess's name: but it was passed by commission, and is as valid, you know, as every other Act of Parliament." "I am satisfied, Sir," said I; "since the whole Legislature has acknowledged the Duchess, the validity of your marriage is incontestable."

On the 30*th*, in the evening, Lord George sent a letter by his wife; the Duchess bade me carry it to the Duke. It was written in so bad a hand that the Duke could scarce make it out; and he read it aloud to me, having sent his gentleman out of the room. Lord George told the Duke that he had proposed the Duke's *mezzotermine* to the King, and had added, that the Duke had promised, if admitted to the King, that he would mention nothing of their quarrel or the cause. The King had replied that he could not accept the terms; but, added Lord George, as I repeated to his Majesty that your Royal Highness would say nothing that could be disagreeable, the King said he would send for the Duke in private. The Duke smiled. I said, "Sir, the letter is dictated by the King, and a studied one; it has nothing of Lord George's frank manner.

The King would not seem to consent at first, because he was ashamed to close with your Royal Highness's offer of mentioning nothing of the past, but I was sure from the beginning of the letter that the consent would follow." "Well," said the Duke, "we shall meet, and mean nothing on either side." "I beg your pardon, Sir," replied I; "you will feel very differently when you meet from what you do now. I have had differences with my brother, and I was always overjoyed when we were reconciled." "You had not received such usage as I have," said the Duke. "However, Sir," said I, "I hope your Royal Highness will forget all. The King is talkative, and loves talking, and when the first awkwardness is over, he will grow as easy with you as ever; and pray, Sir, encourage him to do so. He cannot help in time asking after your children—you may thence get him to see them; and when once he is used to them, he may come to think that your daughter is the fittest match for the Prince of Wales, or at least for one of his other sons." I knew that was the best argument with the Duke, for he was dotingly fond of his daughter. I said, "Sir, as the Duke of Cumberland sets out for Brussels to join the Duchess to-night, as soon as he is gone, and the Queen brought to bed, your Royal Highness will be sent for." He thought so. We had a great deal more conversation. Accidentally the Princess Dowager was named. The Duke said, "Perhaps you think the King loved my mother; I assure you he did not, and I will give you a proof. The very day the Queen arrived, three hours afterwards when she was gone to be dressed for the wedding, I was left alone with the King, and he told me he had already given her a caution never to be alone with my mother, for she was an artful woman and would try to govern her. Think of saying this to a girl of

fifteen," said the Duke, "the very moment he first saw her." The Duke told me he had thought the King would marry Lady Sarah Lennox, and had talked as if he would, even after the contract was signed with the Princess of Mecklenberg.[3] "He liked Lady Sarah," continued the Duke, "as much as he could like any woman; and yet as soon as the Queen came, whom he told me he did not find handsome, he appointed how the bridesmaids should hold

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[3] Lady Sarah was the sister of the Lady Caroline Lennox mentioned previously, who cut off her eyebrows to disgust an unwelcome lover presented to her by her parents; and who, marrying, was subsequently the mother of Charles Fox. Another sister, Lady Emily, was the mother of the unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The love-passages in the life of the father of these remarkable ladies are worthy of passing notice. He was the second Duke of Richmond, and grandson of Charles II. and his mistress, Louise de Querouaille. When a boy (bearing the title of Lord March) he was married to Lady Sarah Cadogan, to cancel a gambling debt between the fathers of the "happy pair." The boy remonstrated against being married to "such a dowdy;" but the ceremony was performed, and he was immediately despatched to the Continent. Returning to London, after an absence of three or four years, he at once proceeded to the theatre, and suddenly fell in love with a splendid beauty whom he saw there, and whom he found to be his own wife! He claimed her, took her home; and years after, the sentiment of that home was indicated by an expression in one of Walpole's letters, who, describing a ball, says: "The beauties were the Duke of Richmond's two daughters, and their mother, still handsomer than they. The Duke sat by his wife all night, kissing her hand." The younger daughter (the fourth child of this marriage) was the Lady Sarah of the text. She was born in 1745, and, it is said that, when sixteen, she refused an offer of marriage made her by George III., but that she ultimately accepted him. Kensington traditions describe Lady Sarah as making hay in the fields then bordering the road, and exchanging a word or two with the young Prince as he rode by. The lady, however, might have sung of him as was sung of the knight in the song: "He loves and he rides away." The royal lover deceived her; and she, instead of being bride at his wedding, was only bridesmaid. Lady Sarah was speedily consoled, it may be supposed; for the year after the union of George and Charlotte she married, at the age of eighteen, the well-known Baronet, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, whom Walpole will notice in a subsequent entry, 4th December, 1777. Subsequently, a widow of the mature age of thirty-six, Lady Sarah married, in 1781, the Hon. George Napier, son of Francis, fifth Lord Napier. The first child of which she was mother was the "Sir Charles Napier," the hero of Scinde, whose "very existence" is ludicrously described by his biographer and brother, Sir William, as "an offence to royal pride!" The slowness of Sir Charles Napier's promotion is amusingly laid to this union. When Lady Sarah was seventy, this eldest son of a brave, honourable, but singularly arrogant, family wrote to Lady Sarah: "It is the greatest satisfaction to me that the Regent is fifty, and that I am only thirty-four;" and at an earlier period by fifteen years, he expresses his disgust against the Prince of Wales for "taking the liberty of calling me Charles! 'Marry, come up, my dirty cousin!'" Lady Sarah Lennox died in 1826, being then in her eighty-first year.—D.

her train, and named Lady Sarah with as much indifference as if it was the first time of his seeing her too."

Among other passages the Duke told me that when he was at Rome, in Pope Ganganelli's time, the Princess of Santa Croce assured him that the King, his brother, had written several letters to that Pope,[4] and she had seen them. "I pressed her to get me a sight of one," said the Duke, "but she never could, for I wanted to see what my brother called the Pope. After his death, the Pope's papers were sealed up and delivered to Monini, the Spanish Ambassador, and are in all probability now in Spain." I said, "Sir, I believe that when Lord Mansfield found he could not restore the House of Stuart, he determined at least to do all the hurt he could to your Royal Highness's family, and therefore turned to the history of Charles I., and advised your brother to take every step that was reproached to that Prince." The Duke asked my meaning? I said, "Sir, don't you know that Charles I., when Prince, wrote two letters to the Pope, which were afterwards printed?"

Nothing was so incomprehensible to me in all this transaction as the part Lord George Germaine had taken. It was past a doubt that he had interested himself warmly in the Duke's favour, and apparently knowing how disagreeable such an office would be both to the King and Queen, as was evident by the behaviour of all their other servants and dependents. When the Duke was dying, I had met Lord North at a dinner, and he had not had the civility of asking me after him. When returned, Lady Bute was twice present when others inquired of me how he was, and,

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[4] I asked the Duke if he did not think Pope Ganganelli was poisoned? He said he had not the smallest doubt; that Monini, the Ambassador, with whom the Duke was very intimate, had had the most convincing proofs of it.

though close to me, she said not a word. As Lord George had ventured to accuse the Queen to the Duke as his enemy, and was so explicit as to throw on the King himself the word *collect* in his first letter, I could not believe such marks of confidence at his own risk were taken with the King's connivance. By his behaviour to the other Ministers on the Duke's account, and the bold language he affirmed he had held to them, and which he had repeated to Sir Edward, and which might likely come to their knowledge in the future discussion of such important points, he could not be supposed to have gone beyond truth, nor was it his method or style. It is more likely, as he said himself to Sir Edward, that he was grown old and peevish; and he certainly was much chagrined and soured at the ill-success of the war, on success in which he had flattered himself with re-establishing his reputation and acquiring much. If it failed, nobody was so sure of falling. All the Ministers had kept aloof from him, and did, even at St. James's. The Bedfords had ever hated him; with Lord Sandwich he had been at great variance from the moment he received the seals; he had bullied all the Admiralty, and had accused Sandwich of neglect in the supplies sent to Howe. He now owned to Lord Hertford on the 30th that Howe had disappointed all his plans. He must have perceived the King's insincerity, nor was his misconduct before unknown to Lord George. Two years before he came into place, talking of the King, he had prophesied to me that the King's reign, from his insincerity, would end unhappily. Lord George had been adopted to repair Lord North's indolence and inactivity, and consequently he could not be agreeable to the latter. The Scotch, dissatisfied with Lord North's neglect of the war, had cried up Lord George in opposition to him. Lord George might

pique himself on not abandoning the Duke as Lord Onslow and Sir W. Meredith had done, and might wish to have some friends if he fell at Court. But upon the whole, I thought that either he was trying to restore the Duke and have a support, or that he was meditating a breach with the Ministers that might serve as a cover to his resignation, since he found the war turned out so very unprosperously. As the Duke was informed that the Scotch affirmed that he was to be declared Captain-General, Lord George might have such a view, both to ensure to himself, through the Duke, great influence over the army, if the war continued, or to prevent General Conway being made Commander-in-chief, if the King was reduced by the miscarriage of the war to take a new Ministry from the Opposition. Time must explain Lord George's views.

The night after the Duke's arrival, the Pope, who had been very civil to him and the Duchess, sent by a letter from Prince Aldobrandini to congratulate the Duke's recovery, to express his fears that he should not soon see his Royal Highness at Rome; but if he did return thither, that his Holiness would be rejoiced to see him.

General Sir George Howard, who at first had gone to Gloucester House, then abstained, and lately had opposed the increase of the allowance to the Royal Dukes, thinking the reconciliation made, went the very next morning after the Duke's arrival to pay his duty to him. The Duke sent him word he saw nobody, though other coaches were in the Court. The Duchess, on my advising her, if people were allowed to visit her, to forget all that was passed, said, she would all but those who had professed themselves friends, and then deserted the Duke and her.

Nothing followed from these negotiations. The Duke of Cumberland went abroad, and the Queen was brought

to bed,[5] when both Lord George and I thought the King would take that moment of seeing the Duke. Lord George said to the Duke, "Sir, if the King does not send for your Royal Highness in three days after the Queen's delivery, I own I shall despair." A few days after that event, the Duke was airing with the Duchess in his coach, and met the King riding. They stopped their coach, but the King did not even pull off his hat. The transaction about the letter was black; the rest of the behaviour was only foolish and brutal. I return to the transactions of the year.

28*th.* At last letters arrived from General Howe with an account of his landing, after a tedious passage of above forty days, in Chesapeake Bay, August 28. He said General Washington was posted between him and Philadelphia, at Wilmington, with about 15,000 militia.

Accounts came from France that Sir John Johnson was defeated and killed by the Provincials; and that Colonel St. Leger, who had been detached by General Burgoyne to take Fort Stanwix, was beaten and taken prisoner.

More accounts of Burgoyne being defeated by Arnold and of having lost 2500 men. These accounts were afterwards confirmed, and represented Burgoyne and his army in the utmost distress of every kind, and likely to be starved into a surrender. Arnold parodied his manifestoes.[6] General Carleton marched with 2000 men to favour his retreat. The Indians he had brought with him had plundered his camp. A body of New Englanders had pretended to join him and then fallen on him. It was

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[5] The Princess Sophia was born 3rd Nov. 1777.—D.

[6] Epigram from the 'Public Advertiser' of December 5, 1777:—

"A CABINET REPARTEE.

"To North the *Lean* said George the *Wise*,
Here's with *one* Arnold much ado;
The drowsy Premier, starting, cries,
'T is well, my liege, there are not *two*.'"

apprehended that they would fall on him in greater numbers, and perhaps on Quebec. Lord George Germaine owned to Lord Hertford that General Howe had defeated all his views by going to Maryland instead of waiting to join Burgoyne. Clinton had not force sufficient at New York to send him any relief.[7]

30*th.* A person was said to have arrived in the City in fifty-two hours from Paris, and opened policies and bets that Howe had totally defeated Washington.

NOVEMBER.

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2*nd.* At daybreak an express arrived from Bamber Gascoyne, at Liverpool, with a New York 'Gazette,' that was said to have come to Glasgow by a ship from New York. This 'Gazette' said that a person from Howe's army had arrived there and brought an account of three actions between Howe and Washington, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of September, in which Washington had been totally defeated, and his army entirely dispersed. Another ship had met the Isis at sea, and was told it was bringing *glorious news.* The Ministers and Courtiers received this news with transports of joy, that did great honour to Washington. A letter from him to the Congress was published, in which

[7] From the London 'Evening Post':

"Our Commanders.

"Gage nothing did, and went to pot;
Howe lost one town, another got;
Guy* nothing lost, and nothing won;
Dunmore was homewards forced to run;
Clinton was beat, and got a garter,
And bouncing Burgoyne catch'd a Tartar:
Thus all we gain for millions spent
Is to be laugh'd at, and repent."

* Sir G. Carleton.

he owned his disadvantage in the first day's action; but instead of mentioning any of their friends killed, he only said Monsieur de la Fayette was wounded in the leg. It did not sound very probable that a general, the night of his defeat, should mention a young stranger's wound, though it is true the Provincials had given him two regiments. Nor did it appear how a letter to the Congress should reach General Clinton, nor did he send it. As the 'Isis' did not come, nor was coming, suspicions increased. It was indeed said in France that Washington was defeated; but in a fortnight Franklin laughed at the report, and wrote that General Howe would winter in New York.

The pretended victory lost ground every day. Some said it had been invented by Panchaud, an English banker at Paris; then that the rascally bankrupt Fordyce had coined it, and had gotten 30,000*l.* by stockjobbing on it. Then came a like account from Halifax. Then a pretended letter from Lord Howe to Sir P. Parker, confirming it, and that Howe had passed through Philadelphia and was pursuing Washington; but there was no such letter. In the last week of November came a Boston Gazette, which described three actions, but said Howe had had much the worse of it. In the same Gazette was a still more ridiculous letter from Burgoyne to Gates, repelling an accusation of his having encouraged his Indians to murder a young woman, which he said, in his bombast style, he would not be guilty of for the Empire of America; no, not *if* mines were in its bowels and Paradise on the surface!

In this uncertainty and perplexity the Ministers knew not what to do. Parliament was to meet on the 20th. Some totally desponded, some were for putting it off; but as the rumours were yet favourable, the majority prevailed to open the session; but it was with the most pusillanimous

speech they had ever produced. So far from announcing the complete conquest of America, as had been promised this campaign, it only talked of hoping for important success, but confessed the obstinacy of the rebels, and hinted at another campaign by increase of forces. It talked of pacific assurances from foreign powers, but confessed that France and Spain were arming so powerfully that his Majesty could not trust their promises, and had been forced to provide for the security of his own dominions.[1] At the end it stooped to hope that the Americans would return to their duty and sue for peace, which to re-establish would be the greatest happiness and glory of his reign.

This timid, feeble, and disheartening speech, so dissonant from all the late, did not, as might have been expected, throw down the stocks many per cent. The fall was inconsiderable in proportion to the change of circumstances and language. When the nation was so intoxicated and blind, no wonder the Parliament did not take the panic first. It had been reported that the country gentlemen had begun to open their eyes, but no such symptom appeared, nor did the Court lose a man; but the absurd and wavering Sir W. Meredith, who would not vote, complained that Lord North would not take away his white stick, and went again to Gloucester House, after an absence of three years. The Duchess, instead of coldness or anger, received him with much humour, and only joked with and teazed him.

Earl Percy, who had left the army, disgusted with Sir W.

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[1] Epigram on the King's Speech, from the newspapers:—

"France swears her sentiments are quite pacific;
In Europe mine, you know, are soporific;
But as both France and Spain are stoutly arming,
I must confess the crisis is alarming;
And though I do believe 'em, and I don't,
I must not be invaded, and I won't."

Paragraph from ditto.—"We were told that the Americans were cowards; and now we are told that they are so obstinate that they will not be conquered. Cowardice and obstinacy are reckoned incompatible; but a late Speech proves they can exist together."

Howe, moved the Address; but whether ashamed of being there, not at his duty, or that his father the Duke, who professed attachment to Lord Chatham, but did not expect his presence, had received notice of his intention, and recommended caution, the Earl spoke so very low that those nearest to him could not distinguish one word he said. The young Earl of Chesterfield[2] seconded him in a very puerile way.

Lord Chatham, finding the moment more propitious, again appeared. He had even sent his intended motion to Lord Rockingham, and that party determined to support it. The Earl's motion was to recall the army, rescind the late Acts, and endeavour to re-unite with America; but he absurdly protested he would never give his consent to their being independent; as if men whom you could not conquer were not and would not be independent! He was very severe on the German Princes who sold us their subjects, and said we had in reality but one ally, the King of the Gipsies. Lord Shelburne went further, and accused the King's servants in India of fomenting a rebellion there too. Much was said against the exciting the Indians to massacre the Provincials. Lord Suffolk defended, and said, in a rebellion it

[2] The fourth, the great, or celebrated Earl of Chesterfield died in 1773, childless. His three brothers had previously died (two unmarried), leaving no male issue. The title passed to a distant relative, who was a lineal descendant of the second son of the first Earl. This lucky heir of a great inheritance was Mr. Philip Stanhope, of Mansfield. He was the fourth Earl's godson; was born in 1755, and died in 1815. The present Earl is his son. The following extract from a letter written by Lord Chesterfield to Philip's father has reference to the greater or less probability of the godson succeeding to the title and estate. It is dated 1759:—"About ten days ago my brother (William) communicated to me his resolution to marry Miss Delaval. The marrying or not marrying was *his* business, which I neither advised nor objected to; and as for the lady, she has been soberly and modestly educated in the country, and is of a very good gentleman's family..... So that probably there will be children; but in all events I assure you that I shall have the same concern and attention for STURDY (Chesterfield's familiar name for his godson) that I have hitherto had...; and while I live will grudge no trouble nor expense for his education. If you persist in your resolution of sending him to Paris for a year or two" (the child was only four years old), "in which I think you would do right, it shall be at my charge, as also when it may be proper to send him to a good Latin school."—D.

was lawful to use all the means *that God and Nature put in our hands.* This expression gave great offence, and was severely taken up by the Duke of Grafton, and by Lord Chatham with his ancient fire. Lord Amherst prompted Lord Gower that in the last war Lord Chatham had made use of Indians. The latter positively denied it. Lord Amherst affirmed there had even been a treaty with them. At last Lord Chatham said, laughing, "Perhaps there were a few to scour the woods." Lord Sandwich asserted the flourishing state of our affairs. The House sat till past ten, and carried the Address by above fourscore to 26. Lord Mansfield did not speak.[3] The new Earl of Harcourt voted in the minority. Though his father had been the King's Governor, Ambassador, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had come to so dismal a death, the Queen had not sent the usual compliment to Lady Harcourt. The new Earl was a most honest man, and, being by principle averse to the measures of the Court, had quitted the House of Commons, because he would not support the measures and would not differ with his father.

The next day the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Effingham entered a very short but severe protest against the fulsome flattery of the Address.

In the House of Commons, Lord Hyde, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, moved the Address very poorly, seconded by the young Sir Gilbert Elliot in a better manner, but he was out, and indecently called the Opposition a

[3] Epigram written in the House of Lords; from the 'General Advertiser:'—

"When tragic scenes mechanic terrors want
To aid an unaffecting author's rant,
The canvas empyreans bid to growl
With the deep thunders of the mustard-bowl.
So when the sophistries of Murray* fail,
Or Twitcher† vainly coins some frontless tale,
The mustard-bowl of State is roll'd along,
And bellows pompous sounds from Suffolk's tongue.
The mob at either audience feel dismay,
And clap the thunder, though they hiss the play."

* Lord Mansfield. † Lord Sandwich.

faction. The Marquis of Granby made the same motion as Lord Chatham. Burke spoke above two hours, but the only brilliant part of the debate was a bitter philippic on Lord George Germaine by Charles Fox, in his highest manner, who called him an ill-omened and inauspicious character, and, besides blaming the choice of a man pronounced unfit to serve the Crown, dwelt on his ignorance and incapacity for conducting a war. The attack was by moderate men thought too personal and too severe. It was felt in the deepest manner by Lord George, who rose in the utmost consternation, and made the poorest figure. Lord George said the man in the world who he chose should abuse him had done so. (General Conway said the next day, he was exactly of a contrary opinion.) Lord George pleaded having been invited into the service by Lord North, and declared himself ready to quit it. Having been censured for Burgoyne's march, his confusion led him to a wretched defence, for he urged that the same march had been meditated by the enemy in the last war, but they had not been able to execute it. Lord North handsomely defended Lord George, and owned he had invited him into the Administration; and said he was glad Fox had abandoned him, an old hulk, to attack a man-of-war; but afterwards he perhaps hurt Lord George as much as Fox had done, for the latter coming afterwards to the Treasury bench, Lord North, who was thought not to love Lord George (and their various partizans had lately attacked each alternately in the papers), Lord North said in Lord George's hearing, "Charles, I am glad you did not fall on me to-day, for you was in full feather."

It had been given out the day before the Parliament met, that Lord Bute's son, Lord Mountstewart, would move for the recall of the troops, but he did not. It was explained

thus:—Lord M. had asked Lord North for a Scotch place for a friend, which had been refused. Lord M. wrote to Lord North that, if he did not grant it, he would move for that recall. The King himself composed the quarrel; and Lord Mountstewart obtained his desire the day before the Parliament met.

The House sat till past eleven, when the Address was carried by 243 to 86. Mr. Gibbon told me soon afterwards that he was convinced that, if it had not been for shame, there were not twenty men in the House but were ready to vote for peace. I did not think it very decent in so sensible a man to support the war, and make such a confession.

The next day, on the report, General Conway made one of his finest, most pathetic, and most animated speeches against the war; and he told the Ministers how much they had borne and would have to bear from France. Thurlow and Wedderburn both answered him, but very poorly: the latter blamed Fox's preceding philippic, and pretended to lay down rules for invectives, which was well retorted by Burke, who quoted a most abusive speech uttered formerly against Lord North by Wedderburn, then in Opposition.

This epigram was published on Wedderburn's condemnation of invective, after his famous philippic on Dr. Franklin before the Privy Council:—

> "Sarcastic Sawney, swoll'n with spite and prate,
> On silent Franklin pour'd his venal hate.
> The calm philosopher, without reply,
> Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

A little before this, Dr. Franklin and Deane had, in a very decent manner, proposed to Lord Stormont an exchange of prisoners, intimating that, if not accepted, the

English prisoners must be sent to America. Lord Stormont returned a haughty answer, and inhuman too, as he did not accept the terms.

Dr. Franklin likewise published a very able address to foreign powers, inviting them to lend money to the Americans, whose good faith could be depended upon, since they had even paid their debts to England, though the war had been declared. It contained, too, a sharp satire on the corruption, profligacy, and decay of England; and it was printed here in the 'Westminster Journal.'

Parson Horne had been carried to the King's Bench to receive sentence for publishing his advertisement for subscription for the Americans. Lord Mansfield ordered him to prison; he cried out, "What, before sentence?" Lord Mansfield was intimidated, and dismissed him. Some days after he was again brought into court, and the Attorney-General pleaded for his being set in the pillory, and even had the audacity to quote the Star Chamber, which he said had been laid aside for its rankness, which implied it was not totally without merit. Lord Mansfield was afraid, and would not venture the pillory, but sentenced Horne to a fine and a year's imprisonment. This was on the 24th.

26*th.* The Navy was voted. Temple Luttrell attacked the Admiralty. Lord Mulgrave defended it well. The Opposition abused the Courtiers on writing against the Generals, and for setting aside Carleton. Lord North said he himself was as much abused as anybody. Wedderburn said he wished there were no such thing as newspapers. Colonel Barré said the Ministers had disgraced General Carleton, because he would not accept Indians, and had been humane to the American prisoners.

DECEMBER.

1*st*. THE long expected account came from General Howe, and was at first called a victory, but soon appeared not to have been so. There had been two engagements between him and Washington, in the second of which Washington had very boldly attacked Howe in his post, and, though repelled, had committed great slaughter, particularly on the Scots and Hessians. Washington was retired *in full force* to German Town at the head of 13,000 men. Howe had taken possession of Philadelphia, but without any benefit, as the Delaware was not cleared; and Lord Howe was besieging a fort strongly fortified on Mud Island, and had lost a sixty-four gun ship and a frigate. Clinton, after *burning* Esopus (?),[1] was returned to New York, and on Howe's demand had sent 4000 men.

On the 2*nd* the Opposition moved in both Houses for each resolving itself into a Committee to consider the state of the nation.

In the Lords the motion was made by the Duke of Richmond, and he moved for several papers, most of which were granted by the Ministers with much complacency. Lord Chatham spoke long, and was severe on the foreign garrisons in Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and quoted a letter of the first Earl Stanhope on the danger of

[1] Washington thus writes to Landon Carter (Upham's 'Life of Washington,' vol. i. 277):—"Burgoyne's surrender has caused Sir Henry Clinton's expedition from New York, in aid of Burgoyne, to end in (something more than smoke indeed) the burning of mills, gentlemen's seats, and the villages near the water."—D.

such measures. Lord Chatham, speaking with contempt of the Ministers, said, "Poor creatures! let them go; nobody will hurt a hair of their heads." This was supposed to intimate that, if the King would send for him, he would be very merciful. In the same speech he said he had been inclined to prosecute the Archbishop of York for a libel, and did not know whether he should not yet. Lord Lyttelton, defending the use of Indians, and saying he saw no difference between a bayonet and a scalping knife, the Duke of Richmond made this beautiful answer: "The bayonet was an honest, generous weapon, levelled at the breast; the scalping knife the base tool of cowardice and revenge."

An altercation happened between the Earls Chatham and Sandwich, the latter of whom said he would not be browbeaten; but adding that he spoke as an honest man, the whole House burst out laughing. The meeting of the Committee was fixed for the 2nd February following.

Charles Fox made the motion in the other House, and shone eminently, again attacking severely Lord G. Germaine, whom he compared to Dr. Sangrado, who would persist in drawing blood because he had written a book on bleeding. Lord George Germaine, to the astonishment of everybody, *confessed that, if America was to be conquered by force, it would be of no utility;* on which Conway said, *Magna est veritas, prevalebit.* Lord North opposed giving the papers demanded; but, while he was speaking, word was brought that the Lords had granted most of them; yet Lord North persisted in his refusal, said that House was not to be governed by the Lords; and though the papers could no longer be a secret, the House was so absurdly servile as to vote the refusal by 178 to 89.

At night came an express from General Carleton, informing that he had learnt by deserters, and believed, that

the Provincials had taken Burgoyne and his whole army prisoners. The King fell into agonies on hearing this account, but the next morning, at his levee, to disguise his concern, affected to laugh and to be so indecently merry, that Lord North endeavoured to stop him. The consternation at first was great, and it was generally thought the Administration would be changed, but the nation seemed so insensible, the Ministers were so afraid of losing their places first, and then their heads, and the Parliament was so thoroughly corrupted and stanch, that the Court took heart, and in two or three days their runners began to give out that the news was not true. Sir W. Meredith resigned his place on the 2nd, in the morning. The next day, meeting Lord Camden in the street, with whom he was not acquainted, he stopped him and told him, but assured him he had resigned before the news of Burgoyne's disgrace came; yet he was treated by both sides with equal contempt.

3rd. On the army, Charles Fox and Burke pressed Lord George to know if the capture of Burgoyne and his army was true. He was forced to own he believed it, though he did not know it officially. The Opposition, instead of receiving such a national indignity with serious lamentation, insulted the Ministers so much that the majority appeared more * * perated and less dejected than on the former days of the session. Burke, too, treating Wedderburn with great irony, *as Lord George's counsel*, Wedderburn rose in great heat, told Burke he did not know how to behave with good manners, but would be respected by him both in public and private. Burke on this went out of the house and made a sign to Wedderburn to follow him; but their friends interposed, and Wedderburn protesting he had meant no affront, the duel was prevented. Charles Fox went farther, and told Lord

George he hoped to see him brought to a second trial, and abused the Ministers on their stupidity and ignorance. But Lord George saying he hoped Burgoyne would not be condemned unheard, Fox flamed still more, and charged Lord George with the whole blame of the badness of the plan. Lord North defended Lord George, and claimed his share of the blame. Rigby and the Attorney-General in their turns tried to provoke Conway, but with no success or applause.

4th. There was a short but warm debate on the renewal of the Habeas Corpus; and Fox charging Thurlow with it as a black act, Thurlow answered him warmly, and asked if, supposing his character a black one, Fox's was a white one. Sir Charles Bunbury declared off from the Court.

5th. The Duke of Richmond moved for accounts of courts martial, and Lord Chatham was warm on the plan of Burgoyne's march, imputing it to Lord George, and moved for the instructions to Burgoyne. This produced a warm debate. Lord Galloway declared his zeal, and that he would give half his fortune to the carrying on the war; but being out, after speaking of his figure and nation, he was forced to pull out his speech and read it. Lord Mountstewart made a most extraordinary speech, almost the whole of which was a condemnation of the war, and complaints of the insults received from France; yet he concluded with declaring we must go on with the war. Various comments were made on this speech. Some thought he had been unwilling to lose what he had written, and intended to speak for recalling the troops, if he had not got a place; and this was probably true. Others thought he meant to impute the continuation of the war to the King's obstinacy for it, in compliment to which he would vote for it against his opinion. This too might be partly true; but the best solution was, that the Court, fearing any should leave them on a prospect of a

change in the Ministry, had ordered Lord Mountstewart to speak for going on, as a signal that there would be no alteration of men or measures.[1] Lord Chatham fell again into his condemnation of taking Indians; and Lord Gower taxing him and forcing Lord Amherst again to confute him, Lord Chatham reproached Lord Gower with the dissolute part of his former life, to which Lord Gower answered as absurdly, by comparing his own understanding to Lord Chatham's. Lord Denbigh, on the confutation, said the oracle (Lord Chatham) had lost its memory.

During that week Lord North was sent by the King to the Duke of Gloucester to acquaint his Royal Highness that his Majesty intended to ask for a Parliamentary provision for his own children, and then would make a handsome settlement on his Royal Highness's. When Lord North had delivered his message, he drily added that he had nothing more in command, which probably meant that the King would not see the Duke. I thought it meant there would be no provision for the Duchess, but she told me Lord George Germaine had assured the Duke that she would have a handsome jointure. What produced this kindness I do not know, nor did Lord George claim any farther share in it. Probably the King thought the public would be satisfied with this, without his seeing the Duke or Duchess. For my own part, I was fully content that the Duchess and her children would have some provision. Had they returned to Court, I concluded it would be expected both by the King and by them that I should also return to Court, which I heartily wished never to do again.

One Straub, a young man of Oxford, connected with the Burkes, had written an answer to Dr. Miles Cooper's

[1] Yet Lord Northington, Lord Mountstewart's friend, voted in the minority that day.

Sermons. The Proproctor, to punish him, ordered Straub to turn into Latin, Doctor Johnson's pamphlet called 'Taxation no Tyranny.'

10*th.* Wilkes moved for a repeal of all the American Acts, but, as he never consulted them, the Opposition would not support him. A new scene opened; Lord North, who at the beginning of the session had declared that conquest was the moment for treating, now acquainted the House that after the holidays *he should lay before them a plan for treating with the Americans.* Lord North's expression marked his timidity; his words were, "I trust we have still force enough to bring forwards an accommodation." Whether this was a private panic was not known. Part of the Ministers were certainly not of his opinion, probably to flatter the King, who was obstinate to continue the war. Burke and Fox abused Lord North, and told him the Ministers thought of nothing but keeping their places; and they argued strongly against adjourning for more than the Christmas days in times of such imminent danger.

11*th.* The Duke of Richmond and Lord Chatham argued the same plea, but the Ministers persisted in adjourning for six weeks, and Lord Suffolk had the indecency to tell Lord Chatham that he only wanted the House to sit, *because he was sure he would be allowed to give his advice nowhere else.* This brutality from so stupid a creature to an old man who had made so great a figure was severely treated in the public papers.

The next day, to support an air of firmness, the King dismissed the Earl of Jersey from his bedchamber, and Mr. Hopkins from the Board of Green Cloth.[2] There did

[2] They were friends of the Duke of Grafton.

not seem any particular reason for marking two friends of the Duke of Grafton, except that there were few other opponents in place, and that the Court wanted to provide for some favourites. Accordingly, the Marquis of Caermarthen was promoted to be Chamberlain to the Queen, in the room of the late Lord Delaware; and in Lord Caermarthen's and Lord Jersey's room, the young Earls of Winchelsea and Aylesford[3] were named to the Bedchamber. Lord Onslow was made Comptroller of the Household in the room of Sir W. Meredith, and was succeeded at the Treasury by Lord Palmerston, both to make room for Lord Mulgrave, a favourite of Lord Sandwich, at the Admiralty. Sir Richard Worseley, a very rich man, succeeded Hopkins at the Green Cloth.

The town of Manchester agreed to raise a thousand men for the King, and Liverpool attempted to do so. Four Highland chiefs were to raise regiments, and the Court talked of sending 26,000 men to America in April; but that was impossible. They had been wanting recruits for three years, and from Germany they could not get a man. The King of Prussia had denied passage to the troops of Anspach, and he and the Emperor had determined to suffer no more men to go to America from Germany.[4]

15*th*. Arrived Captain Craig from Burgoyne, with the confirmation of the surrender of Burgoyne and the army, after great slaughter and desertion of the Germans. During the treaty, Burgoyne heard Clinton was advanced nigher than was true, and tried to gain time by taxing Gates with

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[3] These Earls were both of the house of Finch. Lord Winchelsea was son of Lady Charlotte Finch, governess of the King's children. Lord Aylesford was first cousin and brother-in-law of Lord Suffolk.

[4] From the 'General Advertiser;'—

"THE KING'S FRIENDS.

"Loud in the list of George the Second's foes,
France, Spain, Scots, Tories, Jacobites arose;
Yet victory over all, Britannia ne'er
Beheld a King so great, a reign so fair.
Revers'd the scene, disgrace our arms attends—
The grandsire's foes are now the grandson's *friends*."

detaching part of his army to Washington, which Gates denied. Burgoyne's account was in his usual bombast and absurd style; he talked of having *dictated* the terms of his surrender; and lest it should not be published at length in the Gazette, he sent one copy to Lord Derby and another to Charles Fox. The terms were singularly gentle, and the Provincials, while the prisoners deposited their arms, kept out of sight not to insult their disgrace. Gates drew out 12,000 to show Burgoyne his army, and they were completely armed, and stood five hours without moving out of their line. When this was over, Gates marched with 16,000 men to the assistance of Washington.

19*th.* Came an account of the capture of Mud Island, and that Washington was with his army at German Town.

The ill treatment of the American prisoners in England occasioned such murmurs that a subscription was set on foot for them, and near 3000*l.* were immediately subscribed, and more at the beginning of the next year.

At the end of the year died Dr. Frederick Keppel, Bishop of Exeter and Dean of Windsor. On his deathbed he thanked God that he had not given one vote for shedding American blood.

End of the year 1777.

[The following paper in Walpole's hand I found at the end of the Diary for 1777. It appears to have been a contribution to a newspaper.—D.]

AMONGST the many heavy charges laid in promiscuous companies to a late noble Governor (Lord Holderness), by his reverend rival (Markham, Bishop of Chester), the chief were, that he was a mere dancing-master, fit for nothing but to form a *petit maître*, and that he discouraged

his Royal pupil from reading the Greek Testament. These delinquencies appeared no doubt sufficiently weighty to the more apostolic tutor to justify him in *secret* machinations against his coadjutor, in poisoning the minds of his disciples, and in filling them with contempt for the principal person to whom their education was intrusted, to the great grief and alarm of their—parent.

It is of little consequence in what language children are instructed in the duties of our holy religion. A pedant will prefer Greek; a peer, French. But might not the Noble Governor ask the Priest, "Why didst thou reproach me with a mote in mine eye, and dost not perceive the beam in thine own?" The patience and silence with which the Peer bore the treachery used against him, compared with a very recent instance of intemperate rage in the Churchman, looks as if the dancing instructor had studied the Gospel with more application and more benefit than the arch-doctor. Threats and menaces of doing himself justice, an almost challenge at single rapier, are strange sounds in the mouth of a Christian pastor, in an apostle of peace, in a sermonizer of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, yet much of a piece with the spirit breathed in a late famous harangue to that Society, where (page 17) we read with horror and astonishment, in this country of toleration, that some of our Prelates advise laying as severe restraints on our Dissenting brethren as on Papists; and in the same discourse in which the favour shown to Roman Catholics is mentioned with approbation (p. 24). I hope we have not two prelates endued with that persecuting and detestable spirit; yet it is worth the while of the Dissenters to ponder on that memorable passage.

Some readers have thought that so highflown a sermon was less dictated by a High-Church spirit than by a peni-

tent ambition of recovering favour in the Closet. I hope they do not mean this as an apology, nor as a compliment to a Prince who with reason removed so meddling and turbulent a Pontiff. The Churchman has disclosed his cloven foot, and shown how ill suited he is to govern either boys or men. He never can efface the memory of his late indecent arrogance, when the gentleman was lost in the pedagogue, and the Christian in the high priest. Where was that meek sufferance enjoined in the Gospel, "To him who smites thee on one cheek, turn the other?" The rash schoolmaster thought he still held the rod, and that a senate was to be disciplined like the trembling urchins at Westminster; but, like harlequin, he brandished only a wooden sword, and diverted the audience.

Some compassion would have been due to a man fallen from a dream of empire, who had figured himself at the head of a future administration, like Cardinal Fleury, during the reign of his pupil: but slavish doctrines, a scurrilous sermon when the propagation of the Gospel was in question, and abusive and insolent language and loss of temper when censured for his time-serving, admit of no emotion of pity. The most we can bestow is regret that so boisterous a spirit should be so misplaced. Though improper to conduct a Royal education, or to preside over a Protestant Church, such martial courage would blaze in a communion in which Cardinals have conducted armies; or, if bred in the military line, would probably have inspired our legions with his own fierce ardour. We may even lament that the divine was not entrusted to lead up the Blues at Minden, and that a certain noble commander was not destined to lawn sleeves in his room.

Mark him!

1778.

JANUARY.

THE Stocks continued to fall on apprehensions of a war with France, yet there did not seem to be much cause for those fears. The French, it is true, continued arming, and it was believed had concluded a treaty with the Americans; but the probability was that it was solely a transaction of trade; and neither were the Colonies so content with France as to plunge themselves into her arms blindly, nor so afraid of not being able to maintain their independence as to court her servility. The first accounts that came from Philadelphia mentioned the slights shown by the Congress to the French officers, who were only detained by the intreaties of M. de la Fayette, and soon afterwards above forty were said to have set out for Boston on their return to France. The French King was not inclined to war, and M. de Maurepas too old and indolent to seek it. It was not quite so sure that some of the English Ministers did not look to a war with France as an excuse for abandoning America; at least, if they meant to drain the country of more troops, it was holding out such an invitation to France as she could not well resist.

Though Lord North had promised to draw up some plan of accommodation, and every body saw the improbability of recovering America, still so great was the King's

obstinacy, and the eagerness of the Scots, that no sooner was the Parliament adjourned than nothing was heard of but raising of regiments. Manchester and Liverpool took the lead, and the Scots engaged to furnish 9000 men; but so little were the views of the Court disguised, that most of the zealous clans were precisely the same as had risen for the Pretender in 1745; and the Lord Macleod and other outlaws were recalled and named officers of the intended regiments. Such folly or such wicked designs made many apprehend that there was less thought of sending those regiments to America than to raise them for the views of the Court; but happily, though the Parliament had risen, contrary to reason and representation, as if to set a precedent of raising troops without its consent, by prerogative, it went on very lamely. General Harvey, the King's Military Minister, and Lord Barrington, Secretary-at-War, did not taste the measure, as prejudicial to recruiting; the officers disliked it as it gave them many new upstart rivals and competitors; and, as no money had been spared for three years to procure recruits, they did not start up only because more regiments were wanted. The manufacturing towns and the farmers could not like the scheme; and though serjeants of the Guards were sent down to Manchester to form the levies, they came in very slowly. Scotland, for some years before the war, had complained of migrations to America, and having lately gone deep into manufactures and improvement of estates, must dislike further depopulation. The King himself contrived to relax the zeal he cultivated: he refused the command of the Gordon and Liverpool regiments to the brothers of the Duke of Gordon and Lord Derby; Lord Warwick was discouraged by the jealousy of Lord Hertford, and Lord Townshend was discomfited in attempts in

Norfolk. Alderman Harley and the Court faction tried to draw the Common Council into the measure, but were baffled; and then, in opposition to the subscription for the American prisoners, opened one for raising men, as was done at Bristol.

8th. Came an account of the conquest of Mud Island by General Howe, and of Redbank by Lord Cornwallis; both of which the Provincials had abandoned with little loss on either side, and with some capture of stores. Howe threatened immediately to march in pursuit of Washington. The Delaware was now open.

Account of the death of the Elector of Bavaria, which, as he left no children, it was thought would produce a war in Europe.

Lord George Germaine lost his wife,[1] who died of the measles. As she was a good wife and mother and a sensible woman, her death was a great blow to him at this moment.

16th. An account that Howe had marched to attack Washington, but found him so strongly entrenched behind a bridge at Whitemarsh, that he had *again* not ventured to attack him, and had put his army into winter quarters in Philadelphia.

17th. Earl Cornwallis, Lord Chewton, the Marquis of Lindsey, Sir George Osborne, and Captain Brodericke arrived on leave. Lord Cornwallis was five hours in private with the King, and it was supposed was charged to lay open the hopelessness of success. The army suffered everything—had nothing but salted provisions, and those very dear; and the people of Philadelphia were

[1] Diana, daughter of Mr. John Sambrooke. Their eldest son Charles succeeded to the dukedom of Dorset, on the death of his second-cousin, Duke George John, in 1815.—D.

absolutely starving. Sir Thomas Wilson had come before, and declared the army, by the loss of Burgoyne, by deaths and desertions, was diminished above 20,000. The King did not ask a question of Lord Petersham, because he was recommended by Burgoyne, but he was suffered to buy a higher commission. Lord George Germaine justified himself in writing against Burgoyne, and suffered his defence to lie in his office and be perused.[2]

Dr. Ross, Chaplain to Lord Weymouth, was made Bishop of Exeter, and Bishop Barrington Dean of Windsor.

Reports of Lord Pigot being dead in India, but doubted.[3]

20*th*. Both Houses met, but little was done, in the absence of Lord George Germaine, who was not expected in town till the 26th.

An event that had happened at the end of the preceding year occasioned much talk. The Ministers having been attacked in the House of Lords with the hire of foreign mercenaries, and threatened with a French war, had indiscreetly mentioned the French officers with little respect. Some French officers happened to be present at the debate, and were much offended; and the matter being much exaggerated in a paper published abroad, called 'Le Courier de l'Europe,' the King of France himself was displeased, and it was affirmed that a Comte de Turpin had come to Calais and sent a challenge to Lord Suffolk. Both the Earl and Lord North positively disclaimed the charge to the French Ambassador; but many wagers were laid on the fact at Paris, and even referred to the decision of Lord

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[2] "*For 'The General Advertiser,' Jan.* 15, 1778.

"On the new Manchester Regiment, to be called the 'Button-makers' Regiment:'—

"No wonder Manchester for George declares,
The King of Button-makers must be theirs."

[3] See *post*, 31st January.—D.

Chatham, Lord Shelburne, or the Duke of Richmond. An event of more importance was for some time a secret. Lord Chatham, after the highest compliments on the Duke of Richmond's integrity and abilities, had told Admiral Keppel that the Duke had cut the grass under his feet by declaring for the independence of America. The fact stood thus:—Lord Chatham had, before Christmas, declared he would never consent to the independence of America, probably to clear his way to Court, and perhaps a little to popularity. Lord Sandwich had artfully demanded whether the rest of the Opposition subscribed to that doctrine? The Duke of Richmond, more honestly than prudently, declared he did not, said he would treat with them as independent rather than not make peace, and would try afterwards to persuade them to re-acknowledge the sovereignty of this country, as less likely to endanger their freedom then than the ambition of their own leaders. Lord Camden had leaned to the same side, but less explicitly; but Lord Shelburne had wisely advised them to avoid decision, and treat the question as was done with the preamble of bills, which are always postponed till the body of the bills is formed and agreed on.

Lord Chatham, however, whether really offended or whether he had had any overtures, as was said, during the holidays, by the intervention of Lord Amherst, or whether he wished to receive some, affected to stomach this schism, or to make it one. He complained of the Duke of Richmond to Lord Camden, but intimated that he still more blamed his Lordship's neutrality. Lord Camden defended it, with reason, as wiser than either extreme.

22*nd*. Lord Rockingham, previous to intended motions, wrote to invite Lord Chatham to be at the House of Lords the next day; but he returned a very cold answer, inti-

mating that he did not know whether he should attend any more. This conduct would have been very mischievous, but luckily the Duke of Grafton declaring he would pay no regard to it, and would not absent himself, Lord Camden, who at first doubted, took the same part; and so Lord Shelburne, after a day's consideration, resolved to do so too.[4]

In the meantime the illegality of raising regiments without the previous consent of Parliament, began to make a noise. Lord Abingdon moved to ask the opinion of the Judges; and on the

22*nd*, Sir Philip Jennings Clarke moved to address the Crown for a list of the number of the new corps, and for the dates of the former commissions of officers destined to serve in those regiments. Charles Fox moved again for the instructions to Howe and Burgoyne, and falling foul on the so many obnoxious measures, compared the present reign to that of James II. Colonel Luttrell flew into a rage, but could not express what he meant, but muttered something of Fox's having declared he would talk treason. Lord North, to avoid the charge, owned it had been almost treason. Burke spoke well, and severely too.

27*th*. Lord George Germaine, though come to town, was not at the House, as Lord North promised. Great complaints of the defects in the papers given in. Charles Fox, in an admirable speech, attacked Lord North on having called himself *an unfortunate Minister*, and proved that all the disgraces had happened by ignorance, blunders, and misconduct, not by misfortune. Lord North answered with some humour; and as Fox had accused him of idle-

[4] Lord Rockingham sent an answer expressing his surprise at Lord Chatham's deserting the party in so great national concerns. Lord Chatham replied that he was much concerned, but could not agree with them on the question of independence.

ness and listening to flatterers, he said he passed a great deal of time in that House, where he could not be idle, and it was plain was not *flattered*. Colonel Luttrell made a frantic speech against the Opposition, which gave general offence. Some despatches that were moved for from the Generals in America were refused on a division of 163 to 101; but Adam, George Grenville, Sir Alexander *Leithe*, and Mr. *Gibbon*, the historian, voted in the minority. Lord North being asked, the day before the Parliament met after the holidays, if the army had good quarters at Philadelphia, replied, "so good that I wish I was to pass the next three months there"—meaning, rather than in the House of Commons.

On the 27th, Lord Abingdon moved again to consult the Judges on the new levies. The Court endeavoured to show it must be the House, not a single Lord that could consult them. It was deferred till the next day seven-night.

29*th*. The Duke of Richmond moved to have lists of the navy laid before the House on the Monday following; it was then Thursday. Lord Sandwich said there would not be time, Sunday intervening, and the next day being the thirtieth of January. The Duke said he had not forgotten that day, but he should not observe it, nor condole with Government on what had happened on that day, —and though it had happened to his own ancestor, it was right, and he was glad of it.

The same day Colonel Luttrell complained of the 'Morning Post' for misrepresenting his behaviour the preceding day—but in fact it could not be made worse; he had been so absurd and so furious, that many thought he had been set on by the Ministers to provoke Charles

Fox to a duel.[5] He said he would move to exclude strangers from the House. Rigby supported him, yet owned it was an invidious task; and others objected, particularly as a public inquiry was coming on, and Rigby (probably to charge the Generals) called it a public trial. General Conway ridiculed the idea of shutting up the House because some men were abused in the newspapers. He said nobody was abused there more than he, or minded it less. He had two or three days before seen a "*character*" of himself. (These were characters of the speakers in Parliament, published in the 'Daily Advertiser,' and supposed to be written by one Combes,[6] a most infamous rascal, who had married a cast mistress of Lord Beauchamp, and wrote many satiric poems not quite despicable for the poetry, but brutally virulent against that Lord, and others, particularly Lord Irnham.) Conway avowed that, though his valour in the field was allowed, it was said he was so irresolute that he trembled if answered by Lord George

[5] The 'Morning Post,' a paper notoriously paid by the Court, abused Fox on this occasion in the most outrageous terms, and accused him of cowardice for not challenging Luttrell, which it evidently tried to make him do. Even Luttrell was ashamed of such assassinating endeavours, made excuses to Fox, and hoped he did not suspect him of being accessory to so black a design.

[6] William Combe, after a creditable career at Eton and Oxford, burst on the world as a wonderfully well-dressed *beau*, and was received with *éclat* for the sake of his wealth, talents, grace, and personal beauty. He was popularly called "Count Combe," till his extravagance had dissipated a noble fortune; and then, addressing himself to literature, the Count was forgotten in the author. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for May, 1852, there is a list of his works, originally furnished by his own hand. Not one was published with his name, and they amount in number to 68. Among them are 'Dr. Syntax' and 'Lord Lyttelton's Letters'—for Combe was the author of many other people's works. He was a "teetotaller" in the days when drunkenness was in fashion, and was remarkable for disinterestedness and industry. He was the friend of Hannah More, whom he loved to make weep by improvised romances, in which he could "pile the agony" with wonderful effect. He worked on steadily till he had passed his eightieth year, and ultimately died in *Lambeth Road* (which I am afraid was "within the Rules") in 1823. At no period of his life did he merit such strong censure as Walpole has flung at him; but Walpole, however fond of satire, hated satirists, particularly when they were fearless and outspoken, like Combe. Religious faith and hope enabled William Combe to triumph over the sufferings of his latter years. His second wife, the sister of the gentle and gifted Mrs. Cosway, survived him.—D.

Germaine or Wedderburn (two men that could inspire no man with fear); but if the author could get sixpence by the abuse, he did not grudge it him. Luttrell owned he should not like to take on himself the odium of shutting the doors, and dropped his complaint. Luttrell had quarrelled with his father, Lord Irnham, and was returned to the Court. The father and brothers continued in Opposition with the Duke of Cumberland; and no man published more abuse in the papers than one of the brothers, Temple Luttrell.

31*st*. Confirmation came of the death of Lord Pigot in confinement in India.

"THE HALCYON DAYS OF OLD ENGLAND;

OR,

WISDOM OF ADMINISTRATION DEMONSTRATED.

A BALLAD.

To the tune of 'Ye Medley of Mortals.

Give ear to my song, I'll now tell you a story,
This is the bright era of Old England's glory;
And though some may think us in pitiful plight,
I'll swear they're mistaken, for matters go right!
Sing tantarara, wise all, wise all,
Sing tantarara, wise all.

Let us laugh at the cavils of weak silly elves!
Our statesmen are wise men!—they say so themselves!
And though little mortals may hear it with wonder,
'Tis consummate wisdom that causes each blunder!
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

They now are conducting a glorious war!
(It began about tea, about feathers, and tar!)
With spirit they pushed what they planned with sense!
Forty millions they've spent for a tax of threepence!
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

The debts of the nation do grieve them so sore,
To lighten our burden—they load us the more!
They aim at th' American's cash, my dear honey!
Yet beggar this kingdom and send them the money.
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

What honours we're gaining by taking their forts,
Destroying batteaux and blocking up ports;
Burgoyne would have worked them—but for a mishap,
By Gates and one Arnold he's caught in a trap!
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

But Howe was more cautious and prudent by far,
He sailed with his fleet up the great Delaware;
All summer he struggled and strove to undo them,
But the plague of it was that he could not get to them.
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

Oh think us not cruel because our allies
Are savagely scalping men, women, and boys!
Maternal affection to this step doth move us—
The more they are scalped, the more they will love us.
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

Some folks are uneasy and make a great pother,
For the loss of one army and half of another:
But, sirs, next campaign by ten thousands we'll slay them,
If we can but find soldiers and money to pay them!
Sing tantarara, wise all, &c.

I've sung you my song, now I'll give you a pray'r:
May peace soon succeed to this horrible war!
Again may we live with our brethren in concord!
And the authors of mischief all hang in a strong cord!
Sing tantarara, wise all," &c.

FEBRUARY.

2*nd*. BOTH Houses went upon the inquiry into the state of the nation. In the Lords the Duke of Richmond entered largely into the defects of the papers laid before them, after a division in which the Court carried it for Lord Scarsdale to be Chairman of the Committee, instead of the Duke of Portland, proposed by the Opposition. The Duke offered a motion to address the King, that in consideration of the great armaments provided by France and Spain, as intimated in his Majesty's Speech, and of the present great weakness of the Kingdom, no more of the old corps should be sent to any distant parts whatever. This motion after a debate was rejected at past eight by 91 to 34, the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Say and Seale voting with the minority.

The same motion was made by Charles Fox in the House of Commons, after a speech of two hours and forty minutes, in which he recapitulated the events, history, and misconduct of the war with astonishing memory and method. The Ministers did not make one word of answer, but most indecently called for the question, when it was rejected by 259 to 165—a surprising minority that much alarmed the Administration; many even of the Tories voting against the Court, and some Members, offended at the insolence of making no reply on so very important a subject. Young George Grenville was one who was come to town entirely in Opposition, and had even waited on Lord Rockingham, telling him that, though he could never depart from the principle of England's right of taxation, yet

he totally disagreed with the Ministers on every other part of the war. The Court had very maliciously delivered, amongst the papers, one sent over by General Burgoyne, and called his "Thoughts on the Canadian War"—a clear symptom of their intending to inculpate him.

2*nd*. The Committees of Inquiry were opened in both Houses. In the Lords the Opposition proposed the Duke of Portland for Chairman instead of the usual one, Lord Scarsdale,[1] but the latter was chosen by the majority of 58 to 33. Lord Talbot voted with the minority; and Lord Weymouth, having married the Duke's sister, in decency did not vote. The Duke of Richmond, after complaining of many defects in the papers delivered in, and stating that the army in Great Britain was near 6000 men less than established by Act of Parliament, besides the deficiencies in Ireland, proposed a Resolution, that, considering the danger of war from, and the preparations in, France and Spain, stated in his Majesty's Speech, the Crown should be addressed to send no more of the old corps out of the kingdom. This was levelled at the new regiments raising, which, not being likely to be raised, could not defend the kingdom. This occasioned a long debate, after which the motion was rejected by 91 to 34. Lord Suffolk threw out hints that the inquiry would betray the *weakness* of the kingdom to foreign Courts (as if they could be ignorant of it, when the Government found such difficulty of getting recruits, and 500,000*l*. of last year's subscription lay unpurchased in the Bank!). However, those hints made it apprehended that the Ministers would put a violent stop to the inquiries; yet some of them were certainly for their going on—Rigby again, in the course of the week, declaring there must be some atonement. His

[1] Sir Nathaniel Curzon, the first Lord.—D.

view, no doubt, was to sacrifice some of the Generals as scapegoats for the Ministers, as the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke had sacrificed Admiral Byng, in the late war, to save themselves and Lord Anson.[1]

So great was the curiosity of the public to hear the Debates on this occasion in the other House, that the crowd burst in, and were with difficulty turned out. As there were also three-score ladies in the gallery, amongst whom the Speaker's lady, Governor Johnston moved to have them sent away also, as was done.

4th. Was destined to consider Lord Abingdon's motion for consulting the Judges on the legality of the new subscriptions for raising regiments; but his Lordship (probably foreseeing that affirmation would be given by the Judges, which would be a dangerous authority) forbore to press that motion, which, he said, though it was not his opinion, could not be demanded by a single Lord; and then hoping, with much wit, that there was not a Judas Iscariot (meaning Lord Mansfield) among the twelve Judges, as there had been amongst the Disciples, he offered a Resolution, that the subscribing of money by way of aids or benevolences towards raising troops, without the consent of Parliament, was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and the express letter of the law. Lord Mountstewart defended or excused the Scotch, whom Lord Abingdon had attacked. Lord Suffolk, in the most impudent and un-

[1] The ministry, it will be remembered, sent Byng with a miserably insufficient force to prevent Minorca (gloriously defended by Blakeney) from falling into the hands of the French. Byng exposed himself by warmly censuring the Admiralty, who had despatched him on his commission without proper means of accomplishing it. In his fruitless engagement with the French fleet he certainly manifested more caution than "pluck;" but he could hardly have expected to be blamed on that account, for, not long before, Matthews had been dismissed for fighting, while Lestock had been promoted for evincing much less resolution than Byng, who was executed, as Voltaire remarks, "pour encourager les autres." In the very month in which Walpole writes the above, the Royal George was offered to Lord Bristol, in case of war. "God forbid that I should set foot in her," said the gallant peer in the House of Lords, "a vessel so ill formed and so wretchedly manned!"—D.

precedented manner, proposed to amend the question by making it affirm the direct contrary.[2] This was grievously resented and complained of, particularly by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Camden, the latter of whom affirmed that all his experience did not suggest so flagrant a piece of unfair insolence. Lord Denbigh, the most unprincipled of men, and more hackneyed in impudence than Lord Suffolk, defended the innovation; but at last Lord Mansfield himself, ashamed of the outrage, advised the Courtiers not to persevere in it: but he defended the legality of the evidence, particularly on the authority of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who, on passing sentence on the rebel Lords, had taken occasion to go out of his way, and justify the subscriptions of that time; though the cases were widely different, for could a rebellion within the island, and one on the other side of the Atlantic, be called parallel exigences? Lord Hardwicke had certainly had in his eye the action of Sir John Philipps, a notorious Jacobite, who had presented those subscriptions in Westminster Hall as illegal. So dangerous is it to risk unconstitutional precedents, even in defence of the Constitution; for thus an opinion given *obiter* to justify the friends of liberty was pleaded as an excuse for a measure employed to destroy the liberties of America. Lord Camden flatly denied the legality of the measure; but though Lord Suffolk withdrew his indecent amendment, Lord Abingdon's motion was rejected by 90 to 30; and so the majority in effect decided, as their opinion, that the measure was *not* illegal.[3]

[2] EPIGRAM:

"In every soil can wild Ambition grow;
Smoke in the dull, or in the lively glow.
In this the warmth of Genius aids the growth;
In t'other Impudence enlivens sloth:
Like Cæsar, Crassus felt those restless fires,
And blundering Suffolk like bright Fox aspires."

[3] Lord Chatham, who had not succeeded in being sent for to Court, threatened to appear on the debate for the new levies and thunder against them; but he did not: it was said he was laid up with the gout.

The same question was virtually agitated the same day in the House of Commons, but with a material difference —that the supply for the new levies was brought in in form by the Secretary-at-War. Dunning attacked them on the legality, and was answered by the Attorney[4] and Solicitor-Generals, and the contest was reckoned a most superior discussion of law. The great premiums, too, prevented common recruiting; and that reason prevailed so far, that the Earl of Warwick was desired by the King, instead of raising a regiment, to get recruits for other deficient regiments. The subscriptions themselves were much ridiculed: in the first place, few or no men were to be gotten; on the other hand, when the lists were printed, a great number of the names appeared to be Jews, contractors, and persons in the pay of Government. A former anecdote was recollected of Lord Denbigh, who, having proposed a subscription in Leicestershire, and, being called on for his quota, replied, "Why, I was your decoy-duck; you should not call on me!" Was I in the wrong to impute profligacy and impudence to such a wretch? In fact, not a quarter of the sums subscribed were likely to be called for. General Conway voted *for* the measure, and often rose to give his reasons, but, others rising at the same time, he was not pointed to by the Speaker. He had material reasons: as an officer he did not care to discourage necessary recruiting (though in fact the measure was very unpopular in the

[4] The Attorney-General Thurlow repeated what Rigby said twice, that there must be some atonement. On the other hand, Lord Suffolk, and even Lord Sandwich and Lord Gower, disliked the inquiries. Thus it appeared that Rigby and Thurlow (and Lord Weymouth agreed in sentiment) differed from the rest of the Bedford faction, and that there were several factions in the Ministry: Lord North and Dartmouth were one, the Bedfords were divided into two, and Lord Mansfield, Jenkinson, Wedderburn, Lord Suffolk, and Lord George Germaine were another, and most trusted by the King; and yet Lord George could not be well with the King, and was less so with Lord Bute—but Lord Bute himself, I believe, had but moderately a share in the King's favour, and less in his confidence.

army, as many new Colonels had rank assigned them over old officers, particularly the Lord Macleod, son of the condemned and attainted Lord Cromartie, and recalled from Sweden for this purpose); but Conway's more important reasons were, that the new levies were now proposed legally and constitutionally to the consideration of Parliament; and, in the second place, he apprehended a war with France, and knew the defenceless state of the kingdom, which made him wish to reinforce the army. By this time the Ministers themselves had given over the thoughts of transporting the new levies to America, both from their paucity and the impossibility of reconquering that country. Gibbon voted, like Conway, with the majority; but Wilmot, son of the retired Chief Justice, was converted, and gone over to the Opposition, on which his father would not see him. Dundas, the Lord Advocate, made a very confident apology for the adopted Scotch outlaws; and the levies were voted by 223 to 130, but were debated again the next day on the Report, though without a division.

The *6th* was memorable for the chef-d'œuvre of Burke's orations. He called Burgoyne's Talk with the Indians, the "sublimity of bombast absurdity," in which he demanded the assistance of seventeen Indian nations, by considerations of *our Holy Religion*, by regard for our constitution; and though he enjoined them not to scalp men, women, or children alive, he promised to pay them for any scalps of the dead, and required them to repair to the King's standard, which——where was it? said Burke,—on board Lord Dunmore's ships, whose practices with the Indians he severely stigmatized. Seventeen interpreters from the several nations, said he, could not have given them any idea of his reasons—but, added Burke, the invitation was just as if, at a riot on Tower Hill, the keeper of

the wild beasts had turned them loose, but adding, "my gentle lions, my sentimental wolves, my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth, but take care not to hurt men, women, or children." He then grew serious; and as the former part had excited the warmest and most continued bursts of laughter even from Lord North, Rigby, and the Ministers themselves, so he drew such a pathetic picture of the cruelties of the King's army, particularly in the alleged case of a young woman on whose ransom, not beauty, they quarrelled, and murdered her,—*that he drew iron tears* down Barré's cheek, who implored him to print his speech, and said, with many invectives against the Bishops, that it ought to be pasted up on every church under *their* proclamation for the Fast, and that he himself would paste it upon some. Governor Johnston said he was now glad that strangers were excluded, as, if they had been admitted, Burke's speech would have excited them to tear the Ministers to pieces as they went out of the House. Rigby replied, that if such ideas were instilled, he would be against re-admitting any stranger. The Opposition demanded to know the authors of employing the Indians, but the motion was rejected by 223 to 137.

The same day Mr. Doyley, Secretary to Lord George Germaine, resigned, professing he had accepted his employment from friendship to the Howes, and quitted it because he could no longer be of any use to them. This more than implied, it spoke, that Lord George Germaine was their enemy. Adam, the nephew of the Scottish architect, succeeded.[5] He had often opposed and spoke against Lord North, which was ascribed to some Scotch politics. It now seemed to be owing to Lord George's

[5] This did not prove true; Mr. De Grey succeeded Mr. Doyley.

instigation, or the Ministers understood better than the generality that he had wanted to bully them into employing him.

Lord W. Gordon was made Deputy Ranger of the Parks, by a bargain with Captain Shirley, so very advantageous to the latter that it was supposed the Government really paid the charge, to soothe Lord William and the Duke his brother for the refusal of the command of their new regiment to the younger.

9*th*. Both Houses sat again in the Committees. On that day and the 6th preceding the Duke of Richmond produced witnesses to testify the vast losses we had suffered, and the vast decrease of various articles, which formerly came from America. In the Commons a Sir Alexander Leith, a Scot, who had gone into virulent Opposition on being refused to be sent to Madras, and had a very bad character, abused Lord George Germaine in the grossest terms, and told him he was not fit to serve the King. Lord George answered him with great spirit (though he had better have exerted it against Fox), and said, that any man had a right to accuse him in form, but no man should say such things to his face without a formal charge and proofs.

11*th*. An officer arrived with an account from General Howe, that he had marched with 10,000 men out of Philadelphia to forage, had proceeded with 7000, and left 3000 in a fortified camp, and that as soon as Howe was gone, Washington had attacked the camp; as no more was owned, and this not published, it was concluded that the rest of the affair was bad.

On one of the late Debates, Lord Mansfield went and sat by Lord Camden, and told him he thought we were undone, and that he could not sleep for uneasiness. Lord

Camden replied that he was not to blame, having long foretold and done all he could to prevent the mischief. This puts me in mind of a bon mot that happened when I was a lad at King's College, Cambridge. One Sunday morning when not above two of the Fellows had been at Chapel with the Provost, Dr. Snape, the latter, at evening service, said to Dr. Wilmot, the Vice-Provost, a man of wit, who wrote on the English particles, "Upon my word, Mr. Vice-Provost, there was a scandalous appearance at Chapel this morning!" "Why do you apply to me?" said Wilmot; "I did not contribute to make it." Lord Mansfield at this time went to visit Lord Temple, and wept on the present calamities. Lord Chatham said he had heard of five places where Lord Mansfield had been crying.

Lord Mansfield told Lord Camden he thought it a time for all men to join for the common cause. Lord Camden did not think he ought to *join* with the author of all the mischief, made little or no answer, and quitted him. The chief cause of Lord Mansfield's terror was, that the Ministers probably knew that France had signed, as she actually had, a treaty with the Americans, which France intended to declare to all Europe by a Manifesto, and Spain was to accede as soon as their ships were arrived. A strong presumptive proof that Lord Mansfield was author of the late measures was this. The Boston Port Bill had met with such feeble opposition in the House of Commons, that Lord Camden had designed only to try to correct some of the most exceptionable clauses in the Committee. But on the first or second reading of the Bill, I forget which, Lord Mansfield told the Lords that it was *only one* of several measures that were to follow; and that no Lord must consider it as a single Act, but as

part of a system. This declaration struck Lord Camden so much that he rose and took notice of it. Lord Mansfield, alarmed, said he was not privy to the plan, but spoke at random what he imagined. This was a direct contradiction of what he had just said, nor could be believed. In the late conversation I have mentioned with Lord Camden, Lord Mansfield disclaimed being adviser of the late measures—equally credible! His famous speech of the Rubicon proved he had advised in public, as his Boston Port Speech did that he advised in the Cabinet. His never placing his money in the funds, asserting they were not secure, being coupled with the ruin he has occasioned, may make him even suspected of designing to blow them up. An old story was revived at this time, which was very true. In the Rebellion, Dr. Gally, minister of his parish, went to him, on his rounds, with the book of subscriptions for raising forces. Lord Mansfield refused to subscribe; but as soon as the rebels retreated from Derby, Lord Mansfield sent for the book; and the parish officer not being at home, Lord Mansfield had his bureau broken open and his subscription entered into it.

On the 10*th* the Ministers apprehending a strong motion the next day from Charles Fox, and alarmed at the late increase of the minority, issued summonses from the Treasury uncommonly urgent to press all their friends to attend, and forced down everybody they could, even the sick, to attend. Charles Fox did carry a string of twelve motions. The first, which was debated till night, was for a regular and general state of the army, seconded by George Grenville.

G. Grenville spoke well, yet mixed absurdities. He declared he renounced most of his (father's) opinions

about America, and asked why the man (describing Lord Chatham) who had made England so victorious, great, and flourishing, was not recalled; yet Grenville's father had been at personal enmity with Lord Chatham, and they had never been sincerely reconciled. Lord Temple, Grenville's uncle, and with whom he lived in the same house, had never given up the American system of Grenville, senior, and had last year basely entrapped and sacrificed John the Painter. The younger George Grenville had just attached himself to Lord Rockingham, who had just quarrelled with Lord Chatham, and yet he was the last that Grenville recommended for Minister. Old Lord Nugent, Grenville's father-in-law, answered his son-in-law, to justify himself to the Court from being privy to the latter's politics, which would have been suspicious in anybody less interested: Lord Nugent was capable of such duplicity, but could have no interest in joining with his son-in-law.

The Debate was a heavy one, and the motion was rejected by 263 to 149. The same day Lord North notified his intention of producing his conciliatory plan, that he had promised before the holidays, on the following Tuesday, the 17th.

The same day Lord Effingham moved the Lords for a paper relative to General Burgoyne's expedition, and for copies of letters passed between the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, and Philips on the same affair. These the Ministers refused (see the 'London Chronicle' of February 12), but Lord Gower hinting that the necessary parts might be given, the motion was withdrawn. The Committee was then resumed; and the Duke of Richmond announced having ten resolutions to move, drawn from the

evidence given at their bar, and he opened the first. Lord Sandwich owned he had all along *dreaded* this inquiry, as it would lay open the difficulties and embarrassments under which he owned the country lay (and probably Lord North's conciliatory plan was to be brought partly to get rid of the inquiry, as unnecessary or improper during a treaty; another reason, to get back the votes they had lost, as the most conscientious would be glad of peace: but this would be a palty shift and delay, if the Americans would not treat. But then the Ministers hoped the country would be more ready to support the war, when they should plead the Colonies were irrecoverable: nor would this help the re-conquest, as the Americans would not refuse to treat but on finding it impossible for us to conquer them. However, the Ministers cared more for keeping their places than for recovering America, and their whole dependence now was on keeping up and increasing the popularity of the war). The Ministers combated the motion, though self-evident, and speaking only affirmatively of facts that had been proved as laying open our weakness, which could not be concealed, as the facts appeared in the common newspapers, and consequently must be known in France. Lord Hilsborough and Lord Lyttelton argued against the motion likewise; and at last the Court party called for the Chairman's leaving the Chair, which being carried by 80 to 32, the House was resumed; and then the previous question was put separately on all the Duke's questions—viz., that this question be now put, to which a negative was given on every one; and then the House was adjourned to the 13th, but *not* an end put to the Committee.

I was told by good authority that the King himself had sent one Hutton privately to Paris (without acquainting

his Ministers) to negotiate with Dr. Franklin; but the latter replied it was *too late*.[6]

The French officers, both of sea and land, were ordered to Bretagne. The French Court gave out that we meant to send a fleet to burn Brest or some other port.

16*th*. General Gates's letter to Lord Thanet laid before the House of Lords.

Gates was the son of a housekeeper of the second Duke of Leeds, who, marrying a young husband when very old, had this son by him. That Duke of Leeds had been saved, when guilty of a Jacobite plot, by my father, Sir Robert Walpole, and the Duke was very grateful, and took great notice of me when I was quite a boy. My mother's woman was intimate with that housekeeper, and thence I was godfather to her son, though I believe not then ten years old myself. This godson, Horatio Gates, was protected by General Cornwallis when Governor of Halifax; but, being afterwards disappointed of preferment in the army, he joined the Americans.

17*th*. (A day for ever memorable as one of the most ignominious in the English annals.) Lord North opened his conciliatory plan. Many reasons, some perhaps unknown to the public, had concurred to determine the Administration to take this step, and with more sincere intentions than they had hitherto shown or felt. The ill success of the campaign was the most glaring. The difficulty of raising more money was no doubt another, and both concurred to present the third reason, which probably was the most prevalent of all, the King's apprehensions of being obliged to change his Administration—I do not mean his Ministers, but his

[6] Franklin had been previously suspected of indecision. "He is certainly a man of knowledge," says Hollis of him in his 'Memoir,' "he wishes well to do what is right, loves his country, North America, even to partiality; and yet, according to old observings, *to me he is a trimmer*."—D.

system of Administration—and the Ministers' fears of losing their places. The Opposition, weakly as it was conducted, had gained ground, not by their own conduct, but by the ill success of the Court in all their plans; and though those miscarriages had opened few eyes in proportion, yet they had alarmed the most clear-sighted—I mean interested men, who, concluding that the inability and disappointments of the Ministers would produce a change, had begun to withdraw and conjecture into what hands power would fall. The inquiries in both Houses, which some at least of the Ministers had encouraged, in hopes of turning the storm from themselves to the Generals, had laid open such errors, profusion, misconduct, and misfortunes, chiefly detected by the indefatigable industry, spirit, integrity, and perseverance of the Duke of Richmond, who, from a fund of knowledge and practice of speaking, was become a most clear and ready orator, that the Court had found great desertion was spreading amongst its standing army of mercenaries in the House of Commons. Lord Sandwich and Lord Suffolk—the first quick-sighted, the other proud and accustomed to an obedient majority—had betrayed great dislike of the inquiries. Overtures of peace might stifle those inquiries, and would secure the most candid, who conscientiously wished for a pacification. The Opposition could not with decency or character oppose pacific measures, and the Court hoped that a rejection of the offered terms would incense even the most peaceable, when the Americans should be reckoned unreasonable and intractable; and it further hoped that supplies of men and money would be liberally accorded, when neither the obstinacy of the King or his Ministers could be objected. All these reasons probably concurred to bring forwards a plan of peace; and the difficulty

of raising money (500,000*l.* of the last year's subscription lying still unpurchased in the Bank) easily reconciled Lord North to a plan that he hoped, by holding out peace, would raise the Stocks, though it did not succeed in that light; for the discovery of a treaty between France and the Americans, the great probability of a French war springing out of that alliance, and the movements of French troops towards the coast, spread an alarm that overbalanced all the comfortable prospect of peace. In fact, so many substantial reasons were not necessary to decide Lord North. The abject pliancy of his complaisance, and his shameless tergiversation, embraced any measure that was dictated to him from Court. His indolent and frank insensibility reconciled him to anything. He never disguised his sentiments when they did not coincide with the operations committed to his execution, nor felt shame at contradicting those sentiments. *His impudence was his only honesty, and the want of hypocrisy his only innocence.* Yet he was not sincere; for when the professions of the Court concealed more than they avowed, Lord North could assume the colour of the moment, and, by a blunt avowal of his own contradiction of himself, he seemed to be in earnest in the incoherent part he adopted. This appeared in his conduct on this occasion. Not blushing at condemning all he had been doing for four years, as he seemed to do by offering the largest terms to America, it was impossible not to believe that he found peace absolutely essential; and yet the bills when brought in were so delusive that there was great reason to doubt whether the Court was sincere or not in their hopes of pacification. As I write before those views can be penetrated, I must speak with doubt and uncertainty. The true secret was certainly in few hands, as the detail I shall give will prove.

Instances of the King's loving to assume the donation of all places though not in his gift, and of his resentment to the Duke of Grafton. Old Knapton, Surveyor of the King's Pictures, was dying this winter. Lord Hertford, Lord Chamberlain, had promised the reversion to Paul Sandby, at the Duke of Grafton's request, when First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Hertford was now reminded of that promise, but said he must speak to the King, who wished that Dalton, his favourite artist, should have it; and he said to Lord Hertford, "If *the Duke of Grafton* promised it to Sandby, he shall *not* have it; *I command* you to give it to Dalton."

Lord Orford being mad, Mr. Shirley, Deputy Ranger of the Parks, made an agreement with Lord William Gordon to cede it to him, and the latter proposed it to Lord North, who spoke to the King, though the King had nothing to do with it, for the Ranger not only appoints his Deputy, but pays him his salary. The King ordered Lord William should have it.

The great source of mystery and insincerity lay in the King's own breast. Either the private Junto had wrought him up to a high pitch of animosity against the Americans, or, to excuse themselves, had ascribed it to him. Yet obstinacy, as far as it implies firmness, was by no means his character. He had no courage, but he had infinite hypocrisy. He could and did adhere unalterably to his views, but he could waive them with the utmost facility for a time. Those views were to extend his prerogative as far as possible on all occasions, great or small; and, being a little genius, he conceived, and consequently was most earnest about, the smaller, and to draw all attachment to his own person. He was as much or more pleased at gaining any advantage over his Ministers and

servants as over his opponents and enemies. Thus he never was so content with any Ministers as with the Duke of Grafton and Lord North, whose indolence and aversion to business left him sole arbiter of all favours; nor could he ever pardon the desertion of the former, though it supplied him with the latter.

That the King's fears surmounted his obstinacy on the present offers of peace was evident for six weeks before the famous 17th of February. He had himself privately despatched to Paris one Hutton, an adventurer,[7] formerly a bookseller and then a Moravian, to negotiate with Dr. Franklin himself.[8] Hutton, with tears, flung himself on Franklin's neck, and beseeched him to give both countries

[7] This is seemingly confirmed in Benham's recently published 'Life of Hutton' (pp. 511-529). It there appears that Hutton, besides laudably providing for the welfare of his Moravian brethren in America, or on the seas, was in communication with Franklin, on the subject of a reconciliation between England and her Transatlantic colony, on a footing of something just "short of *absolute independency*." He intimated that the English nation could not be brought to assent to complete emancipation. "Direct to me," he writes to Franklin (Jan. 1778), "Queen's Road, Pimlico, Westminster, under cover to M. Court de Gebelin, Rue Pompée, Paris, who will put a cover over it, and my friend Mr. Fullerton will, without examination, forward it safe to me in the packet of Lord Mansfield." Of the pious old bookseller's interview with the King, Benham gives at least one curious illustration. "It is said of Hutton that at the end of this year (1779) he closed his visits to the palace, in consequence of the command of the fleet having been given by the King to the circumnavigator Rodney, whose name Hutton had mentioned to his Majesty shortly before, as an officer every way suitable for such a distinguished post during the present emergency of the country. Hutton, on hearing the effect of his recommendation, felt that he had made a mistake in presuming to advise the sovereign, and therefore at once and for ever withdrew himself from the possibility of committing a like indiscretion." Franklin in a letter to Davis Hartley (1778), alluding to Hutton's communication with him at Passy, says, "He is often at the Queen's palace (Kew), and is sometimes spoken to by the King. He pretended to no commission, but urged me much to propose some terms of peace, which I avoided." Let me add that Hutton was no adventurer, as his biographer has shown; at Court he was no flatterer, and the worst thing that George Stevens could say of him was that he conversed on religious subjects with his customers, and refused to sell Tom Browne's works, or Clarke's 'Essay on the Trinity.'—D.

[8] Lord Mansfield had another agent in France, one Forth, an Irishman, who frequently passed by Brighthelmstone. It is probable, that besides the love of secret intrigues, he wished to negotiate without the privity of his nephew, Lord Stormont, that if the Administration should be changed, nothing beyond the common course of business might be brought home to his nephew.

peace. The politic philosopher replied coolly, yet certainly not without feeling the triumphant dignity of having humbled a haughty Monarch, "It was too late." It *was*. The treaty between France and America was signed; but it had not been so when, before Christmas, the Opposition had implored the Ministers to let the Parliament continue sitting—*a crime for ever to be remembered;* nay, on the very day of that adjournment—on the very day on which Lord North had promised he would bring a conciliatory plan, Lord Jersey and Mr. Hopkins had been turned out for having constantly voted against the war and for peace. But this was trifling compared with their perseverance in a war that was proved, by the inquiries and by the Duke of Richmond's motion, to have cost this country about twenty thousand lives (and probably as many to America) and above thirty-two millions!

Disappointed, defeated, disgraced, alarmed, but still depending on a majority in both Houses, and on the blindness and indifference of the nation, the Administration ventured on taking the very opposite part to all they had been doing; and as if there was no shame but in losing their places, presumed to tell the three Kingdoms that they must abandon all the high views with which they had been lulled, and must stoop to beg peace of America *at any rate*. This was the substance of Lord North's opening his plan, which the very night before had not been fixed, or not fully opened to a meeting of the principal Members at Lord North's—yet even then it had given disgust. The Attorney-General Thurlow had protested he would take no part in it—and did at last take but a very cold one. Lord North, who seldom[9] shone when he could not jest,

[9] I found this very applicable motto for him, "Aut dormitabo, aut ridebo:" he often slept in the House of Commons.

made a sorry figure except in assurance. He declared he would treat with the Congress, with anybody—*would even allow the independence of the Colonies—not verbally, yet virtually.* He owned all his disappointments—yet recurred to his usual defence, that every act had been the Act of the Parliament. All the comfort he gave the country gentlemen was some hopes that America might be persuaded to contribute some pecuniary assistance. He allowed till the following June twelvemonth for the duration of the negotiation. The other parts of his speech, of which this was the pith, will be detailed enough in other publications.[1]

The astonishment of great part of the House at such extensive offers precluded all expression. The Opposition felt honestly that they could not decently disapprove a pacification they had so much recommended; and during the course of the bill the Ministers had the satisfaction of finding this integrity operate on some of the most upright but least clear-sighted, as Lord George Cavendish and Frederick Montague pressed the Ministers not to lose a moment in passing the bills—an instance of more virtue than judgment; for the duplicity of the Court ought to have made them suspect fraud, and to weigh every tittle of bills which were likely to be insidious, and the more concise the more capable of sinister interpretations. The Tories, who could not like concessions so inadequate to their hopes, and so repugnant to their high-flown attachment to the Prerogative, seeing the intemperate zeal of the Opposition, were ashamed to mark themselves as an obstinate and weak party, which they would be if they separated from the Court when approved by the Opposition. Burke

[1] See the 'London Chronicle' of Feb. 21, 1778.

and Charles Fox yielded to and seconded the torrent; but the latter threw a bomb, that much disconcerted though it did not disappoint the Minister. My cousin Thomas Walpole had acquainted me that the treaty with France was signed. We agreed to inform Charles Fox; but as we both distrusted Burke, and feared the childish fluctuations of Lord Rockingham, we determined that Fox should know nothing of the secret till an hour or two before the House met. Accordingly, T. Walpole communicated the notice of the treaty to the Duke of Grafton on the 16th, and engaged him to acquaint Charles Fox, but just before the House should meet the next day. This was done most exactly, and Burke knew nothing of the matter till he came into the House.

As soon as Lord North had opened his two bills, Charles Fox rose, and after pluming himself on having sat there till he had brought the noble Lord to concur in sentiments with him and his friends, he astonished his Lordship with asking him whether a commercial treaty with France had not been signed by the American agents at Paris within the last ten days! If so, said he, the Administration is beaten by ten days—a situation so threatening, that in such a time of danger the whole House must concur with the propositions, though probably now they would have no effect. Lord North was thunderstruck, and would not rise. Thomas Pitt declared he had absented himself of late, as not knowing what part to take, but now gladly embraced that of peace. Adam as usual disapproved them. Governor Johnston approved them, but called on Sir William Gordon, the late Resident at Brussels, who had been in America, to testify that the Americans had not formerly thought of making themselves independent. Sir William, a man of a very blundering head, thus unexpect-

edly called on, had one of those momentary inspirations which sometimes light on idiots, and without answering satisfactorily for Johnston, ridiculed him with much humour, wondering that the Governor, who so boldly attacked the highest personages, should descend to him—but, said he, he is like a sportsman, who returning from killing pheasants, discharges his gun, as he comes home, at the sparrows on the side of a penthouse.

George Grenville, with more sagacity than the rest, showed he felt the ignominious posture of his country in such humiliating concessions. He spoke with energy and weight, said he had been deceived by Administration, and the country had been so too. He would worship any man as the saviour of his country who could make peace; but he did not think these propositions would have that effect. He had seen an extract of a letter from Dr. Franklin, which asserted the treaty as a fact:—what then would be our situation with France? were these our triumphs?—this the dignity of Parliament? *He felt the humiliating blush that must spread the cheek of his Sovereign, when he should be called to give his assent to these bills.* He thought the Parliament had not been to bend, but to assert.—Gilbert, an agent of Lord Gower, proposed rather to tax placemen to carry on the war. Burke maintained that Lord North had taken precisely the plan that he (Burke) had offered two years before; and he called on his Lordship to answer to the fact of the treaty. Still the Minister was silent; till Sir George Saville rose and told him it would be criminal to withhold a reply, and a matter of impeachment, and ended with crying, an answer! an answer! an answer! Lord North, thus forced up, owned he had heard the report of a treaty, but desired to give no answer to the House at that moment. He had

no *official* intelligence on that subject. The report might be vague. Some time ago the Ministers of France had denied it;—such evasive answers rather convinced everybody of the truth. (Three days after this, Lord Mansfield, at Lady Gower's, said openly, that the Ministers did not speak truth if they denied the treaty, for it was certainly signed!) Leave was then given, *nemine contradicente*, for the two Bills to be brought in.

Such an avowal, in effect, of criminality, ignorance, and incapacity in the Ministers had never been equalled—nor, since King John surrendered his Crown at the Nuncio's feet, could a more ignominious instance of the debasement of a great monarch be quoted. The Ministers had stigmatized the whole body of colonists as cowards, and boasted they could traverse the whole continent of America with 5000 men; and in four years stooped to offer terms infinitely beyond what would have glutted the most sanguine or presumptuous wishes of the insurgents but two years ago! No matter whether sincere their offers or not: *if insincere, it was but another infamy.* But how could England but fall into disgrace and contempt, when Ministers, by turns so audacious, so criminal, and so mean, remained yet undisturbed in their posts? Their cruelty, injustice, defeats, had revolted few. Few showed either joy or indignation at their recantation.[2] The Scots at first inveighed against the pacific spirit; but soon grew so silent, that no doubt they were let into the secret of the insincerity of the Court—and both the King and the Scots enjoyed any ignominy that fell on the Parliament.

The same day a remonstrance from the county of Norfolk against the war, drawn up by Mr. Windham of Felbry,

[2] Lord Townshend was so offended at the plan of peace, that he said he concluded it would be thrown out by the House of Lords.

and signed by about 5000 persons, was presented to the House of Commons.

A glaring evidence of the insincerity of the Court broke out three days after the conciliatory plan was proposed by Lord North, and seemed to indicate that the principal view had been to dip the nation in an engagement of supporting the war, if the Americans should prove deaf to reconciliation.[3] A meeting was summoned by some unknown persons, at the King's Arms Tavern, and one Bourne,[4] a low tool, proposed to establish a Committee of Peace, who were to agree to many soothing propositions, and most extraordinary measures for that purpose, with a test the assembly was to subscribe, which concluded with the real meaning, that if peace did not take place, the subscribers promised to pay certain sums *to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*, or Receiver of the Land-Tax of the County, for carrying on the War. This idea could not have originated out of Lord North's proposal, for thousands of books had been printed to disperse all over England, with a fine allegoric print, and this motto, '*Blessed are the Peacemakers!*' But this hopeful project was blown up by Mr. Baker, the Member of Parliament, and Alderman Sawbridge; they exposed the insidious plan, the assembly was dispersed, and another called, at which Sawbridge took the chair, and they voted resolutions very far from agreeable to the Administration.

When the pacific Bills were brought in, nothing could be more abject than the style, nothing more delusive than the spirit. Instead of an honest confession of errors, the

[3] One of the clauses specified that there should be *no retrospect:* a saving clause for the Ministers. Lord Mansfield was suspected of being concerned in this project. Bourne was proved to have been with Robinson, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, the day before the proposed meeting.

[4] This Bourne had a handsome wife, who was Mistress to Lord Onslow.

language of the Bills seemed to speak as if the Americans were only a dissatisfied people, a little misguided, but whom His Majesty was willing to humour by indulgence and condescension. Rebellion was out of the question; but all was to be left to the commissioned negotiators. The offensive Acts were not to be repealed, but might be, if necessary to peace. Not a word was said of the Quebec Bill, which no doubt the King and Lord Mansfield hoped to preserve, as it restored Popery, abolished Juries, and established Military Law: yet, were the Americans inclined to treat, they could demand nothing more earnestly than the abolition of that Bill. As they were sectaries, Popery was more obnoxious than the Church of England—and as the removal of the French from Canada had left them free to assert their liberties, they could never admit of a Popish arbitrary army in their neighbourhood ready to be poured upon them as soon as the King should be disposed, or strong enough to reassert his empire over America.

The two Bills—one to enable the King to appoint commissioners to treat of peace, the other to declare the intention of Parliament not to exercise the right of taxing the Americans—were read twice on the 19th. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Dundas, made a strong and sensible speech against them, declaring he had always been for upholding the supremacy over America. He pretended to excuse Lord North, but his apology was a bitter satire, for he said no man of the rank, fortune, and independence of Lord North could stoop to contradict all his words and actions from any motive—but conviction. There were many other speeches, but no formal opposition or division. Wedderburn took most part, Lord George Germaine none at all.

The House of Lords, in the meantime, were not idle, the Duke of Richmond pushing on the inquiries with great vigour; and though his motions were all rejected by the majority, they were printed in the newspapers, and laid open an astonishing scene of extravagance and losses. In these debates Augustus, Earl of Bristol, who had been disgusted by his friend Lord Sandwich, took a strong part against the conduct of the Admiralty, but was far from having abilities to do them any hurt. When the Duke of Richmond had gone through the civil and military part of the inquiries, he ceded the naval part to the Duke of Bolton, who had been a seaman like Lord Bristol, and was by no means a more clear-headed one. In the House of Commons, Conolly, on the subject of the inquiries, called on Lord George Germaine to know what reasons General Howe had assigned for desiring his recall. The question was certainly premature at least, and Lord George refused to answer it. Conolly was an honest, though absurd, Irishman, of great property and weight in that country, where he often supported the Government, but rarely in this. Sir William Howe had married one of his sisters.

The House of Commons sat late several times on the Conciliatory Bills, but without any material debates or events.

On the 23*rd* the Opposition contended for the Commissioners being named, urging the hardship it would be on them, if any of them were appointed. And the Ministers were shrewdly asked whether, if the Americans should demand the heads of some of the Ministers, the Commissioners would be empowered to promise them! Mr. Powis, one of the minority, moved for a repeal of the Tea Act, which was granted, and the dereliction of taxes was ex-

tended to the West India Islands. There was but one division before the report of 181 to 108—many of the Court and many of the Opposition absented themselves, equally disliking the measure. Lord Bulkeley, Burrel, and a few others quitted the majority. The Opposition demanded, as it was a Parliamentary War, and the supremacy of Parliament in question, that Parliament should name the Commissioners; but the House of Commons, as usual, ceded that right to the King.

In the mean time His Majesty named Frederick Earl of Carlisle[5] as one of the Commissioners, a choice universally ridiculed, particularly by Burke and Governor Johnston in the House. Lord Carlisle was a young man of pleasure and fashion, fond of dress and gaming, by which he had greatly hurt his fortune, was totally unacquainted with business, and though not void of ambition, had but moderate parts, and less application.

During the course of these Bills, the Lord Chancellor Bathurst wrote to the Ministers of the Cabinet, desiring not to be summoned to their councils; his motive was, that of late he had been little consulted or entrusted with the measures in agitation; yet so timid was the Court or so unwilling the King to give the Seals to Thurlow, preferably to Wedderburn, whom the unprosperous state of affairs made it imprudent to exalt, that Lord Suffolk was sent to soothe and reconcile the poor creature of Chancellor; who was (in the right to be) pacified.

About the same time came accounts that almost the whole of Burgoyne's army had deserted, and been received by the Americans; but the foreigners they rejected, at whose barbarities they were probably disgusted. The

[5] Frederick, the fifth earl. He was grandson (by his mother Isabella) of William fourth Lord Byron. He died in 1825, aged 77.—D.

Congress had refused to confirm Gates's terms granted to Burgoyne, who himself was said to be very ill.

27*th.* The Fast was observed—a ridiculous solemnity, as the nation was to beg a blessing on their arms, when the war was at an end—or at least suspended for sixteen months, if the Americans pleased. One passage in the appointed service was much remarked, as the whole nation seemed at once converted to pacific sentiments by Lord North's proposal. The words were these, "Then shall all the people say *after the Minister*, 'Turn us, O Lord, and so shall we be turned!'"

The following are poetical comments on the Fast:—

A REFLECTION ON THE FAST,

COMPOSED WHILE MEDITATING ON THE FOLLOWING WORDS OF KING DAVID.

I will wash my hands in *innocency*; so will I approach thine altar."—PSALM XXVI. v. 6.

"With *cruel hearts* and *bloody hands*,
The *Ministry* were stain'd,
A *Fast* was publish'd thro' these lands
That they might all be clean'd.
But, oh! what blunders time affords!
Thro' want of *grace* and *sense*,
They wash'd them in—*a form of words*,
Instead of—*Innocence!*"

ON THE SEVERAL GENERALS TO WHOSE CONDUCT THE AMERICAN WARFARE HAS BEEN INTRUSTED.

"First General Gage commenc'd the war in vain;
Next General Howe continued the campaign;
Then General Burgoyne took the field; and last,
Our forlorn hope depends on *General Fast*."

MARCH.

2*nd*. The Conciliatory Bills were passed by the House of Commons. Towards the end of the debate (when Charles Fox was gone out of the House) Lord George Germaine rose and said a few words, and declared he looked upon himself as responsible for these pacific measures.

The same day the Duke of Bolton continued the inquiries in the Lords, and brought Lord Sandwich to great shame, proving how far the fleet ready for sea fell short of what the Earl had boasted. It appeared that many of the ships were not manned or very inadequately. (See the printed accounts.) Lord Bristol,[1] who had been allotted a ship, said it was not safe to put it to sea; and that though, on his complaints, the Admiralty had given him 260 additional men, he read a letter from a sea captain, whom he had ordered to visit them, that they were boys, old cripples, and the scum of the earth. Not one of the Ministers supported Sandwich, but Lord Gower moved for the Chairman leaving the chair, and the Duke of Bolton's motions were rejected by the majority.

4*th*. It was proposed in the Common Council to address the King to make peace with America, and a Committee being chosen to draw it up, consisting of Wilkes, Crosby,

[1] This Earl died in 1779, eight years before the death of his wife, the "Duchess of Kingston." He was succeeded by his brother, the eccentric Bishop of Derry, whose son, now Marquis of Bristol, is in his ninetieth year. —D.

Bull, Sawbridge, Oliver and Hayley, and twelve others, they produced an address that contained a strong charge against the Ministers, and a petition to have them removed. Some even of the Committee remonstrated against the violence of the language, though they did not all condemn the measure; but it was voted, and the sheriffs were directed to ask the King when he would receive it.

It was known that a French fleet, I think of seven ships, commanded by Monsieur De la Mothe Picquet, was sailed to America, and that Commodore Digby, with five ships (of which one returned disabled), had been sent after them. This looked much like war.

5th. The Conciliatory Bills were read in the House of Lords. The Duke of Grafton made a very strong speech that amounted almost to impeachment of the Ministers, and urged them with the convention between France and America, which Lord Weymouth still denied their knowing. Lord Radnor condemned the Administration, and declared his dissent to the Bills. The Duke of Richmond was not less severe, particularly on Lord Hilsborough, who rose with heat and demanded to have his circular letter read; but the Duke persisted, and threatening to call the Earl's conduct to account on some future day, Lord Hilsborough had no more to say. Lord Suffolk, as usual, said nothing material. Then rose Lord Temple, who had not appeared for a long time; he spoke strongly against the Bills, and ridiculed the poltroonery of the Ministers; and he told the House that if there was a division, he should vote against the Bills, and had in his pocket Lord Milton's proxy, which too he should give against them. (Lord Milton was in a kind of mad state, and had appeared nowhere since his wife's death, near two years before. He had been in Opposition and attached to Lord Rockingham

till the breaking out of the American war, when he had taken up violent animosity to the Americans, probably instigated by his brother-in-law, Lord George Germaine. That violence and his immoderate pride, and Lord Temple's suggestions, now made him indignant at the meanness of the Ministers, and revert to Opposition with that weathercock Lord Temple.) The Bishop of Peterborough showed how inadequate the Bills were to the object. Lord Carmarthen, another very unsettled head, spoke for the Bills, though with doubts of their success. The Duke of Buccleugh, like almost all the Scots, vehement against the Americans, and not so pliant as most of them, declared against the Bills. Lord Shelburne spoke strongly against giving up the independence of America, which was agreeing with Lord Chatham, and taking the popular ground. He recommended the defence of Canada, the navigation of the Mississippi, the Floridas, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. In fact, the Ministers, by half-measures, or double measures, now stood on the worst ground they could. If, like honest men, they had declared they could do no more, but would not hinder any other Ministry attempting to save the country, they had been less inexcusable; or had they determined to defend Philadelphia, New York, and the other countries mentioned by Lord Shelburne, and without pursuing vain endeavours of conquest, distressed the trade of America, they would have acted a part of more dignity and firmness, and perhaps wearied the Americans into offering peace. By having recourse at once to such mean and debasing submissions, they contradicted and exposed themselves to the contempt of America, Europe, and England, justified the Opposition, and opened a door to any future Administration to submit to any terms, and precluded themselves from blaming such

submission. The Opposition, if they should come into place, would not have dared to offer such degrading terms which now they might, without imputation of sacrificing the rights of the Crown of England, when the Crown had made those overtures itself. But the King preferred his power at home to his general dignity, and the Ministers were glad to keep their places at the price of any ignominy—and their heads too, as they feared, if they resigned, the conquering Administration would call them to account: but in my opinion they are in much greater danger by thus temporising, for they have disgusted the majority of the nation, who would have defended them if they had maintained the Crown's and Country's dignity, and had not added poltroonery and meanness to ill success.

Lord Shelburne shone against the Ministers, but there was no division—what was more remarkable than any of these dissents, was the absence of Lord Bute's son, Lord Mountstuart, of Lord Denbigh, and Lord Talbot, which added to the suspicious conduct of the Court. Lord Bute's friends had early in the Bills intimated his dissatisfaction. It might be sincere, it might be to please the Scots, it might be a trimming policy, or might imply that the Bills were rather the measure of Lord North than of the King. Lord Camden thought the Court determined on peace with America at any rate—I own I doubted it. I had heard that on Burgoyne's defeat, Lord North had told the King he must take other Ministers; and that the King had replied, he would neither stoop to America nor to the Opposition; and that if Lord North would not stay, he would take the next Minister on the line. This is very credible, and Lord North's yielding against his opinion as credible. There was certainly great obscurity in the conduct of the Court—yet am I persuaded, that if

America should treat, which would imply not being bound to France, which would make a French war unlikely, the Court would be perfidious enough not to ratify the treaty. Treat, America may if but to gain time—but will they not ask security? And what security can be given? Perhaps they would demand the guarantee of France; and still more likely, that France should be mediatress.

Jenkinson asking a person well acquainted with America, if he thought the Americans would treat, the person replied, yes, if not too strictly connected with France. No, said Jenkinson, they will not, the enemy will hinder them. What! said the person—France! No, answered Jenkinson,—but he would explain no farther. By the enemy he meant the antiprerogative party in America.

The *6th*, the Bills were read again and much condemned by Lord Bristol, and less strongly by Lord Townshend, who yet said he should vote for them—he had only declared he thought it impossible the Lords should pass them. It was one criterion of the degeneracy of the present age, that men were so shameless and senseless as frequently to declare their real sentiments, and then contradict them by their votes.

The same day Lord North opened the Budget, having been forced once or twice to put it off. He had hoped the Dutch would furnish the loan, but they had grown alarmed at our situation, and had refused. The Bank had been tried, but would venture no farther. The City was grown frightened too, or dissatisfied, and had set their faces against it. The monied friends of the Court were solicited to subscribe, but none liked it, and some refused. So great was the distress that Lord North, without precedent, divided the Budget into two days, proposed the

loan, but deferred the taxes to the 9th. He declared the total sum wanted was 13,230,000*l.*! The loan was to be of 6,000,000*l.*, which he owned he had not obtained on as easy terms as he could have wished. He stated the terms, and reckoned them at a clear profit to the subscribers of five per cent. He dwelt much on the arts that had been used to keep down the funds, effected chiefly by spreading rumours of war, of which the monied men had taken advantage, determining not to be losers. Burke, in reply, affirmed that the loan would be six per cent.; and he reprobated the measures that had brought the nation into so miserable a situation. Lord North, in answer, confessed that if the Americans meant Independence, they would not consent to treat. Charles Fox then poured out the bitterest and one of the finest of all his philippics against Lord North, taxing him with breach of honour, on having declared that he would resign if his first conciliatory proposition had not the desired effect; that he had broken his word; that he had this year brought measures of the same kind, at which he confessed he felt humbled, though not ashamed—if such measures did not make him blush, what would?—and in this style he spoke for above half an hour—to which Lord North made no reply. After the motion had passed, Lord George Germaine was called on for answers to two or three questions relative to the Canada expedition.

It was now known that Jackson, a very able man, Council to the Board of Trade, and Eden, Secretary to Lord Suffolk, were to be Commissioners with Lord Carlisle. The Court had been greatly distressed to find anybody that would undertake the Commission. Sir George Hay had positively refused. Lord John Cavendish told me he had been indirectly sounded, and been told any

proper person of the Opposition might have what terms they pleased.

A Government was given to General Carleton—and though the Ministers had endeavoured to stir up persecution against Burgoyne and the Howes, I have no doubt but as fast as they came over, the Court, from its natural cowardice, will endeavour to bribe and pacify them.

9*th*. Lord North opened his taxes, which were to be on houses and wine. Objections were made to them, but they were voted without a division. Then Mr. Gilbert, an agent of Lord Gower, proposed to lay a tax of 25 per cent. on all places and pensions during the war. Lord Gower and the Duke of Bridgwater[2] had taken great pains to dissuade him, but he said he could not be easy in mind without proposing it. It was, however, suspected that it was aimed in revenge at Rigby, the Paymaster. Gilbert had married the sister of one Cranford, a Scot, in the Pay Office, who had been disobliged by Rigby's not giving him a vacant place at Chelsea College. The plan took with the House, *though even Burke spoke against it*, and it was voted against Lord North, in the Committee, by a majority of eighteen. This would have been a signal blow on the Court, as well as on Lord North, who sent out an earnest summons for attendance the next day on the Report, which yet he threw out but by a majority of six, 147 to 141, and three of those, Sir George Saville, Burke, and Fox, were of the minority, as well as General Conway, who often was, and who showed the absurdity of the proprosed tax, as, instead of saving money, it would oblige

[2] Francis, the third and last Duke. His success in projecting and establishing inland canal navigation is happily alluded to in the single line on his tomb in the church at Little Gaddesden: "Impulit ille rates ubi duxit arata colonus." His Grace died in 1803. —D.

the King to increase salaries. A tax on pensions, as far as they were charities, would be crying and unheard of.

The same day, on a report that the Court was going to send 8000 of the new troops to America, General Conway begged to know the state of the force in the nation, and represented its defenceless condition—but no answer was made to him.

Accounts came of a rising in Norfolk on the dearness of meal, and on the new levies. They were said to have destroyed the house of the Mayor of Norwich, and a mill belonging to Lord Townshend. There were disturbances, too, among the tinners in Cornwall.

The Stocks fell greatly, and the new loan was already 1½ under par.

The Conciliatory Bills were read the third time in the Lords. Lord Abingdon spoke and protested against them. The Duke of Richmond ridiculed the trifling character of Lord Carlisle and the insignificant one of Eden. Moore, Bishop of Bangor, who had married Eden's sister, spoke in defence of the latter; Porteus, Bishop of Chester, for the Bills. Lord Camden made a most admirable oration on the criminality and inability of the Ministers, and on the dismal situation to which they had reduced this country, but said he would neither vote for nor against the Bills—and they passed. The Attorney-General being asked what he thought of that speech, replied, if words could turn us out, better could not be found for the purpose.

The Duke of Gordon said he did not quite like the Bills, but would vote for them as no better were offered—but he was influenced by no Minister nor would be. The Duke of Richmond took up this, and what had been dropped by the Duke of Buccleugh on a former day, on

the interference of the Court in the elections of Scots Peers, on which the Duke of Buccleugh had formerly opposed the Court. The Duke of Richmond complained of Lord Stair having been excluded from the Sixteen for opposing the American War; and his Grace said he would move to have the Scots Peers elected for their lives.

In the House of Commons the inquiry was carried into the state of the Navy, as it had been in the other House; and Charles Fox exerted himself in exposing the ill conduct of the Admiralty, and of Lord North, whom he treated with the utmost contempt and indignity—but the inquiries began to languish in both Houses, and were reduced to one day in a week.

12*th*. James Luttrell proposed that the Commissioners for Peace should be authorised to promise the removal of any Ministers to whom the Americans should object. It occasioned a long debate, but was rejected.

On the 13*th*, the Lord Mayor presented to the King a very strong and very sensible petition for peace from the Common Council, to which the King made a cold though temporising answer.

On the 13th, Monsieur de Noailles, the Ambassador of France, delivered to Lord Weymouth a declaration from the King his master, acquainting his Majesty that the King of France had concluded a Treaty of Commerce and Amity with the Independent States of America, but had had the attention for his Majesty of not making it exclusive of their trading with us; but should any interruption be given to the commerce between France and America, the former would support the dignity of their flag. Dr. Franklin was received at Versailles in form on the 17th, as Ambassador for the United States of America. This triumph had never been exceeded but by the capture

of Francis I. by the Constable of Bourbon, which, perhaps, was inferior to Franklin's, as the latter was a private man, and triumphed by his own abilities over the King of Great Britain.

The French message was deemed so ironic and insulting, that at night orders were sent to Lord Stormont to leave France directly without taking leave—and Monsieur de Noailles was acquainted with that step, that he might retire too. The Stocks immediately fell considerably.

16*th*. Lord Weymouth and Lord North acquainted the two Houses that they should the next day deliver a message of great consequence from his Majesty. The Duke of Manchester immediately told the Lords, that he should move an Address to the King to turn out his Ministers for not having known of the treaty with France, or for having concealed it.

In the Commons, Mr. George Grenville moved to address the King to lay before the House all papers from Lord Stormont or communications from the French Ambassador relating to the treaty between France and America. Lord North objected to the motion, and moved for the previous question. Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Fox, particularly the latter, censured Lord North most severely for ignorance and for the situation into which he and the Ministers had brought the nation, and with great contempt for proposing unanimity. Wedderburn, Rigby and others defended the Ministers, and the motion was rejected by 231 to 146. One beautiful passage in Mr. Burke's speech was an application of Lord Bedford's reply to James II.

The Lords were busied the same day on a bill of a private but most extraordinary nature, which was the strongest picture that could be drawn of the dissoluteness of

the times. Lord Foley, who was born heir to an estate of 20,000*l.* a year, had, with his next brother, gone into such an outrageous excess in gaming and racing, and consequential borrowing of money at enormous usury, that their father, the late Lord, in whose power the estate was, after repeated attempts in vain to correct them, had determined, on many breaches of their promises of amendment, and after many threats and warnings, to disinherit both and give the estate to his third son. But the eldest having without his approbation, though at last with his consent, married, for love, Lady Henrietta Stanhope, the fourth daughter of Lord and Lady Harrington, the latter of whom was very obnoxious to the father, Lord Foley, from her very bad character, the late Lord had given hopes of his forgiveness, provided his son reformed, a promise the son immediately violated by frequenting Newmarket and contracting a new debt of 20,000*l.* On this the father, Lady Henrietta being delivered of a son, made his will, settled the estate on that child, yet left 6000*l.* a year to his eldest, and 1500*l.* a year to his second son. As the sons were exceedingly good-humoured young men and popular amongst those of their own age, they were pitied, as left in necessity, and unable even to pay their debts, though the provision was much larger than they deserved. After some months, their father having given some marks of relenting, and having talked of selling part of his estate to pay their debts, and even of making a new will, which, dying suddenly, he could not execute if he intended, the relations, the other brother and sisters, and the trustees, were prevailed on to consent that the two elder Foleys should apply to Parliament for a much larger portion of the estate, and for immediate sale of enough to pay the principal of the debts, in which application many misre-

presentations and exaggerations were employed. Still they were so popular: and Charles Fox, whose example and society had contributed to their ruin, and for whom they were bound too for above 40,000*l.*, and the rest of the young nobility at Almack's, and the fashionable young women of quality, who were Lady Henrietta's friends, pushed the affair with so much vehemence, that even Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden, though condemning the cause and still more the fatal precedent of setting aside wills, determined to absent themselves and let the bill pass. But the Duke of Richmond, though pitying Lady Henrietta, uncle of and connected in party with Charles Fox, and inclined to favour the Foleys, was too upright and honest to bear this time-serving of the two great lawyers, and when the bill was presented, insisted on their attending it, that he might from them learn what he ought to do. They both endeavoured to avoid it, Lord Mansfield saying he could not attend, and Lord Camden that he had a private reason for not attending causes. (This was partly a good-natured motive, as he thought Lord Mansfield often frustrated just causes if he supported them, and was sure of carrying the majority with him.) The honest Duke would not accept their excuses, but insisted on their naming a day when they could attend, which they were forced to do. For this, as usual, he was grievously abused; and the beautiful Countesses of Sefton and Barrymore, Lady Foley's sisters, said everything that rage could suggest of him.

In truth, the four first lines of the printed case were an insult on all gravity, decency, and sense: the least sense of shame would have stopped their presenting such a petition; and after-ages will scarce credit that men could have the front to offer, or a Legislature so little decorum as to receive, a representation of a case *as compassionate* that was

the highest excess of prodigality, extravagance, and usury. In short, they stated that the two Foleys had, during their father's life, taken up money on such enormous usury that they had bound themselves to pay annuities for the interest that amounted to 17,540*l.* a year; and this *their unfortunate situation*, they said, they had disclosed to their late father. This was the foundation of their claim to pity! Such were the meritorious orphans that deserved that a Legislature should violate the solemnity of wills! And what could the other Peers be, who could listen to such a plea, and not tremble at the example for their own sons, and for their own testamentary disposition of their estates? It was almost as singular a contradiction that the petition was presented and supported by the Earl of Coventry, who had disinherited by will his own son, for extravagance and worthlessness![3]

The two Lords, Mansfield and Camden, being thus forced to give their opinion, as did the Chancellor, who to his honour had been firmly against it, the Lords were disposed to throw out the bill on the first reading; but the Duke of Richmond, whose good nature was equal to his integrity (and both were as great as could be in man), prevailed to have it allowed to be referred to a committee.

17*th.* Lord Weymouth and Lord North acquainted both Houses with the declaration of the French Ambassador, and, after arraigning the perfidy of France, moved to address the King, with vows of support in maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown and nation. In the Lords, the Duke of Manchester immediately moved an amendment or addition, beseeching his Majesty, that in

[3] The sixth Earl. He survived till 1809, and was, at his death, in his eighty-seventh year. The son whom he is said to have disinherited succeeded his father when nearly sixty years of age.—D.

consideration of the want of success of his Ministers, in almost every civil and military plan, he would be pleased to remove them. Proofs of what he said, and of their neglects and ignorance, were repeated by both the Duke and Lord Rockingham. Lord Dudley defended the Ministers with warmth, and was answered by Lord Abingdon (who plainly described Lord Mansfield), and by Lord Effingham, Lord Ravensworth, and the Duke of Richmond; the latter adding, that the only way to recover the friendship of America would be to acknowledge its independence, for which he said he had a fortnight ago drawn up a bill for that purpose, the heads of which he read to the House.

Dr. Butler, Bishop of Oxford, rose for the first time, but it was principally to defend the Bench, who, he said, had been branded, in the other House, with dying their lawn in blood, and yet he declared he was ready to support the war with his advice or by the arm of flesh. Lord Coventry told him he should first have considered our resources; to which the Prelate said, that a tax on half our pomps and vanities would support the expenses of the war. The Duke of Richmond replied, that he knew none fitter objects than fat, high-fed Churchmen and rich Prebendaries. Lord Shelburne made a very strong speech, pointed at Lord Mansfield; said he had heard a French Bishop recommend the clergy taking part in politics, which, if they miscarried, could not be laid to them, who might retire to their wealthy bishopricks. He said he was sorry we had *legal adventurers*, who could be meddling, and he could see their hand in the Canada Bill. Lord Mansfield sat trembling and groaning, under every mark of confusion. He was so frightened and dismayed, that about this time, a person mentioning somebody's death to him, he said, "I don't know why, but Death knocks at every door but mine!"

In the House he made no reply, though Lord Shelburne looked directly at him the whole time *he* was speaking. At half an hour after nine the Amendment was rejected by 84 to 34. It is remarkable that Lord Shelburne did not divide. He gave for reason that he did not wish for war, and yet thought peace improper. In the same speech he attacked the pluralities of the Church.

In the other House, Mr. Baker and Sir George Younge proposed the same Amendment for removal of the Ministers, and were supported by Conolly, George Grenville, and Thomas Pitt. *Jenkinson declared the war must now be looked upon as certain; it was war itself.* Lord Lumley said the people had a right to choose Ministers. General Conway rose, and, as was allowed by all sides, made one of the finest orations ever pronounced there. He said he should not excuse the Ministers, but thought the purport of the message was of much higher importance than a question of who should be Ministers; that, if guilty, they ought to be accused. That early in his life he had disapproved of such a general charge against a great minister, his own relation (Sir Robert Walpole); that he hoped it was not necessary to declare war, though he was ready to offer his services; and though he had some time ago given offence by declaring his opinion that an officer who disapproved the American war ought not to serve in it, the case was different with regard to France, and he should be proud to end his life as he had begun it, in the service of his country. He said the Declaration of France did not call on us to declare war, and he quoted a very remarkable and apposite instance of Queen Elizabeth, who, having made an alliance with the Dutch and supplied them with 6000 men, notified that treaty to Philip II. in 1583, and he did not declare war against her till three years after.

He quoted a letter from Dr. Franklin (which Governor Pownall had shown him), in which Franklin said it was not yet too late to make a treaty with the Americans, if we would but acknowledge their independence, which Conway pressed the House to do, and urged that the words of the French Declaration, that the treaty was not exclusive, implied the same; (and, indeed, by the accounts from France it appeared that they did not expect war, no doubt depending on the timidity of the Court, though, by the precipitate recall of Lord Stormont, and Jenkinson's words above, I am persuaded the King and the Scots preferred war with France to giving up hopes of absolute power in America; and this, if true, would prove they had not been sincere in Lord North's conciliatory plan). Charles Fox paid the highest compliments to Conway's integrity and abilities, and said he should differ from him in nothing but in demanding the immediate dismission of the Ministers; would declare the Independence of America, and turn the Commissioners into Ambassadors. He said, Lord North had talked much of the confusion his resigning would occasion; he did not see how; he did see what confusion his staying would make. Lord North said little, but seemed to intimate that it would be war; *that he did not believe all America wished for Independence* (another symptom of the Court's hopes of continuing the war); he himself had wished, for ten years, to resign. He acquainted the House that the first payment of the loan had been made that morning.[4] The Lord Advocate broke out into a violent

[4] Lord North had not got the money that morning at noon; but as the executors of the last Lord Holland had just paid in two hundred thousand pounds of the money belonging to the Pay Office, the Ministers probably advanced part of the money to make up the deficiency till they could supply it otherwise.

invective against the Opposition, and said they wanted to take the Cabinet by storm. Thomas Townshend called him to order, and said it was false, and warm words arose between them; but Conway and Rigby interposed, and they were calmed. Lord Bulkeley spoke for supporting Government, and between one and two in the morning the Amendment was rejected and the Address voted by 263 to 113. I forgot that Barré spoke with great commendation of Conway, but wondered he would serve under Ministers *who betrayed and ill-treated all officers, and laid their own faults on them.*

General Amherst was made of the Cabinet Council, and was designed to direct the war, but was not to be Captain-General. This showed that Lord George Germaine, whose particular friend he was, had no thoughts of retiring, but, not to shock the Duke of Gloucester, had withheld the title; at the same time it was preferring Amherst to Conway. The latter went in to the King, and told him he was come to say in private what he had said in public, and to offer his services as he had done at the time of the affair of Falkland's Island. The King thanked him, and said it was a great and general question. Conway said yes, he had not thought that a day for attacking the Ministers.—Admiral Keppel was appointed Commander of the Fleet.

Beginning of a war between Prussia and the Emperor, which probably encouraged France to make her Declaration so soon, though, had she waited, we should probably have sent more troops abroad. It was a tempting moment to France, the influence and credit of which kingdom in Europe had greatly declined since 1758, by our great successes, by the waste of the last King's reign, and by his contests with his Parliaments and suppression of them, and by the new powers of Russia and Prussia, and the revival of the

House of Austria. France had been forced to behold without stirring, the partition of Poland and the invasion of Dantzic. Her policy and our folly had brought back a favourable moment. She had brought about another war between Russia and the Turks, which deprived us of assistance from the former, and prevented both from trading with us so prodigally as Russia especially did in times of peace. The still more recent war that was broken out between the Emperor and Prussia on the seizure of Bavaria (on which it was said Prussia had demanded a categoric answer from France what part she would take, and in which she probably had answered wisely that she would take none) gave France the prospect of seeing these two great Princes waste their vast armies, and left her at liberty to humble us, and ravish our trade with America, and humble our Marine. This was too strong a temptation to be resisted, and their insulting manner of avowing their conduct ought to have told the King how much his credit was sunk.

On Thursday, the 18*th*, I had a great deal of conversation with the Duke of Richmond. I had observed that the approaching war with France had rather done the Ministers good than harm, though it ought to have done the latter, as they had brought it on. The alarm made men rather think of the whole than of parties, and I found that the instances of mismanagement which the Opposition had published from the inquiries, had been artfully turned against them by the Court, who represented it as laying open our weakness—as if France could not have known that without, especially from Dr. Franklin. I told the Duke my observations; I wished him to move to address the King not to prorogue the Parliament in the present calamitous situation: the Ministers, to get rid of the inquiries and Opposition, had designed the Parliament should

rise in April, but now in May. I said, to move against prorogation would recall the memory of the *fatal* prorogation at Christmas, and would establish them for prophetic judges, if the King should be forced to call the Parliament suddenly in summer; but the Duke did not mind my advice. I then told him that the Opposition were very unpopular, because they never took the least pains to raise a spirit but in Parliament, *the last place where it could be raised*, as the Members were more evidently corrupted than any men. I pressed him to have a protest drawn up against the conclusion of the session, and get it signed by as many Members of both Houses as would sign it. I said it ought to be drawn in the plainest and simplest words, not in figure and metaphor (I meant not by Burke), which few would understand, and fewer be struck by; that as we were now at a new crisis, America gone, and a war at hand with France, I thought the Opposition should give an account to the nation (for speeches were only read day by day in the common newspapers, and too shortly, and said to have been answered and forgotten); that they should detail their attempts to prevent the war in America and to have the Americans heard; their prophecies of all that had happened, the conciliatory plans that they had offered, and which the Ministers had been forced to adopt, yet with more indignity to the nation than the Opposition would have dared to propose; and should state all the errors, blunders, waste of men, money, and ships of which the Ministry had been guilty; and should print and disperse thousands of this manifesto all over England. The Duke said they did intend something of that sort, as far as would consist in what they had discovered by the inquiries, and had prepared a paper, but it was not finished. I concluded it was drawn by Burke, and would not half answer the purpose. I spoke pretty

roundly on the negligence of the Opposition, and blamed particularly their having neglected to make more noise on the countenance shown to Roman Catholics. The Duke answered eagerly, that he had no notion of persecution for religion, and had long wished to have the Catholics of Ireland well treated, which would have brought many of them over. His excellent heart could not fail to love toleration, and Burke had no doubt taken advantage of that mild disposition to imprint tenderness for Catholics, for if Burke was not still a Catholic, he yet retained many of its principles. I replied, that I did not dislike Catholics for their religious, but civil, tenets, which were destructive of all liberty; and that of all Catholics I most dreaded Irish Roman Catholics for this reason, *which I thought unanswerable.* "Consider, my Lord," said I, "that there is not a Protestant in Ireland who is possessed of a foot of land that was not wrenched from an Irish family. The Irish are proud of their families, which are as ancient and noble as any in Europe, and some of them Royal. The Irish Catholics therefore must be obstinate to their religion (without considering their education, prejudices, and ignorance), as the Catholic religion alone can recover their estates. If they turned Protestants, and were ever so loyal, no Protestant Government could wrest lands from old established Protestants, to restore to new converts; and the Protestants being intruders from England, which domineers Ireland, the genuine Irish hate our religion for that reason, as it was the cause of their depression. But," said I, "my Lord, depend upon it, even the English Catholics, who can complain of no persecution, have great indulgence, and are not obliged to pay double taxes, though loyal, will never be sincere friends to a Protestant King, though, I own, the present has almost made his religion doubtful."

It is a fact that Spain has always kept up intimate connection with the Irish Catholics, and when one of them settles in Spain he is allowed the same rank and precedence as he has in his own country. Mr. Conolly, speaking of the present state of Ireland, was very clear in his opinion: he said, if the French land in the South, every man there will join them; and if the Americans land in the North, they will be as gladly received there by the Presbyterians.

The 19*th* was a very remarkable day in the House of Commons. The inquiry was to be summed up on the expedition of Burgoyne; and Charles Fox undertook to charge Lord George Germaine as the author of that miscarriage, by not having given orders sufficiently explicit to General Howe to endeavour to meet and assist Burgoyne. Fox made the charge, but with extraordinary temper and judgment, and without any acrimony. He said he saw that too many of the King's servants were involved in criminality, to make personal bitterness to any single man excusable. He condemned, he said, the Canada expedition, but the ignorance of the Ministers of the treaty between France and the Americans had effaced that; and next year he supposed it would be so much exceeded by new blunders that he should forget it. He was sorry in this ignorance to be forced to include his own friend Lord Weymouth. Fox often passed the end of the night, or rather daybreak, in drinking with Lord Weymouth.

These parts of his speech gave the chief colour of the day. Thurlow, Lord Weymouth's creature and intimate, was very angry, and with bitter irony said he hoped Mr. Fox would never be his friend. Fox rose to excuse himself, but launched out still more severely against Lord Weymouth. Wedderburn was the chief advocate for

Lord George Germaine, who said nothing all day but in answer to interrogatories, and the day languished very dully, though with one division of 164 to 44. All the principal officers retired, as they might be called to courts martial on the Generals Howe and Burgoyne, and Conway particularly for that reason, and because he would show no partiality against Lord George, who, contrary to all precedent, voted in his own case for himself. He had the day before said to a friend that he was ready to resign (and indeed his office of Secretary of State for America was likely to become an useless place), but he would be acquitted first by the House of Commons. That implied fear both of being immediately sacrificed by his brother Ministers, and impeached hereafter by the Opposition; but in truth the nomination of Lord Amherst persuaded me that Lord George would retain his place, at least the King's confidence.

Towards three in the morning the Debate took a new and very warm turn. The Lord Advocate Dundas, who seemed to be set up by the Court against Charles Fox, rose and taunted him with his moderation, and called on him to employ his usual invectives. He had at the beginning of the Session, said the Advocate, overflowed with bitterness; now he had sifted the conduct of the Ministers, he found nothing to say against them. This speech, and the small minority and support of his friends, several of whom had gone away, from lassitude and the insipidity of the day, provoked Fox to the utmost rage. He burst out into a torrent of abuse, and lost all temper and conduct. Rigby answered him, and in return abused the Opposition, whom he called an insignificant minority. This equally provoked Governor Johnston, who told Rigby he was not surprised to hear him, who always declared he would belong to

majorities, condemn the minority; and he did it very much at his ease, as he enjoyed twenty or thirty thousand pounds a year from the distresses of his country. Lord George Germaine at last defended himself in a good speech, though many thought he did not clear himself. He had, however, had the precaution to tell General Howe, in a letter, that he hoped to be in time to assist Burgoyne.—Charles Fox should then have made a motion he had prepared, of censure on Lord George, but in his passion he tore the paper and went away; on which Wedderburn moved an acquittal of his friend, which was voted with a small minority under forty. Charles Fox said to many he would attend the House no more, of which probably the King heard, for next day Lord Bolingbroke, Fox's friend, being in waiting, the King, who used to abhor Fox's name, launched out into commendations of him. The Duke of Richmond told me too that the King had been making overtures to different persons in Opposition, but with the annexed condition that Lord North should remain at the Treasury. I replied, "My Lord, that is out of no kindness to Lord North, but to shield Jenkinson and the Junto: whoever would consent to Lord North's staying could not object to the others; but I think nobody will go to the Court on those terms, unless Lord Chatham and Lord Shelburne." The latter's attack on Lord Mansfield shows Lord Chatham would object to HIM; but I am sure Lord Temple will go in on no terms but the Treasury; and though I did not say so to the Duke of Richmond, I was as clear Lord Rockingham would not, and him perhaps it was meant to exclude, for early in the winter the King had had the folly and indecency to say to Lord George Germaine, "I may be got the better of by the American rebels, but I will not by the English rebels." I had long laboured with all those of the Opposition I was

connected with not to join the Court till the nation should call for them, as I was sure the King would betray them as soon as he could, if they put themselves in his power, instead of waiting to see him in theirs; and it is plain Thurlow, the Attorney-General, was of my opinion, for being asked soon after Burgoyne's defeat, whether he did not think he should soon lose his place, he replied, "Perhaps I may; but I will tell you what—if I do I shall have it again in six months." The Duchess of Northumberland was in the chaise with the Queen the day Lord Chatham accepted his pension, and told her of it. The Duchess said nothing. Said the Queen, "You don't speak, are not you glad?" "I don't know, Madam," replied the Duchess, "whether I ought to be glad or not." "Why," said the Queen, "don't you see that *the King can now do what he will!*" This was told to me at this time by Mr. Cowslade, an intimate friend of the Duchess and Gentleman Usher to the Queen.

I mentioned a letter which Governor Pownall had shown to General Conway from Franklin, in which the latter said the Americans would still treat with us if we would declare them Independent. Hartley had shown him a copy of the same letter, and he grew very eager to bring it about. Thomas Walpole did not believe it, and he knew more of Franklin's sentiments than most men; but he did not even think it would do us any good. On the 21*st* Conway came to me and said he had been labouring the point, and had persuaded several and found more of that opinion. He had convinced his brother, Lord Hertford, who * * * * * * * said,[5] Stanley

[5] Mr. Conway said, that though Stanley was for the Independence his brother-in-law Ellis was not, and laughed at his insignificance. I said I had as much contempt for Ellis's abilities as he could have. Yet Ellis's dissent was another proof of the King's sentiments; for I knew Ellis was much consulted;

and Lord Nugent were of the same opinion, and thought Lord North and Lord George Germaine were too; and as a proof of the latter's being so, told me that De Grey, Lord George's Secretary, had been with him and asked him for hints, of which he had given him a paper with twelve. I interrupted Mr. Conway, and said, "That is a trick of Lord George to hurt you; he knows the King will never consent to acknowledge the Independents, and that he will be angry with you for trying to bring it about." He replied, he did not care, he would do what he thought right; though he owned he did not believe he should succeed, for Lord North and Lord George would not have the honesty and courage to support the vote of Independence against the King's will, who, he believed, was determined against it, and was, he was now persuaded, more the governor of his Ministers than governed by them, and would do everything himself. I said I thought so too, but yet had opinions instilled into him by Lord Mansfield, Jenkinson, and the Scots. That I had early thought Lord North's conciliatory plan a farce, accorded by the King to quiet him, and to set the nation still more against the Americans for refusing to treat, when both King and Ministers knew it was too late, as their treaty with France was signed. I had disputed with Lord Camden, who granted everything that could be asked: I said I had made several observations lately that confirmed my opinion, and was persuaded the King and Scots would prefer a war with France to ac-

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and, being a plausible and subservient tool, and of no weight (which was what the King liked), I believe he was designed for Chancellor of the Exchequer, if Lord North should resign, or by his father's death be removed into the House of Lords; for though Jenkinson was the person really intended, the times were not propitious enough; and as he had had so principal a hand in the late measures, it would not be thought prudent to put him into a responsible place, which would expose him to be called to account, if the Opposition should get the better, which the crisis might bring to pass.

knowledging the Independence of America, which, if once allowed, could never be recalled, but where the King would not part with hopes of absolute power, or the Scots of plunder and confiscation of lands. I said, Jenkinson's late speech, "*It is war*," was one of my reasons; another, a scandalous letter, just printed and given about at the doors of both Houses, abusing the Howes in the grossest manner, imputing to them the fault of not conquering America, and representing the expedience of sending more forces, as it was stated that Washington's army was a slender troop of cowardly ragamuffins, and that the greater part of America desired to return to the King's obedience. This, I added, the Scots still asserted, and had made the King and Ministers believe that Sir Grey Cooper had sent me a printed copy of his speech on the Conciliatory Bills, in which this delusion was maintained; and the aversion of the Scots to those Bills, and the late violences of the Lord Advocate, proved they had still such hopes. I said I did not mean to discourage his zeal, but feared it would have no effect; nor indeed did he, though he left me to pursue his aim with unabated zeal.

I was not at all less sincere than Conway for my country, but our zeal was of different kinds. His was to preserve it as great as he could; mine was to see the constitution restored, and the arbitrary spirit of the King and Junto punished. To me it would be preferable to have the nation humbled, provided it remained free, than to see it victorious and enslaved. From the Stamp Act, and from the military laws devised by Lord Mansfield for the Colonies, from his abolition of Juries and restoration of Popery in Canada, from the beginning of the war, and from the bloody acts contrived not only to punish, but to drive all the Colonies into rebellion, that all might be

punished and enslaved, I had seen the evident tendency of the King's measures. I had as little doubt, but if the conquest of America should be achieved, the moment of the victorious army's return would be that of the destruction of our liberty. That army had been sent to fight for prerogative, was disciplined by Jacobite Scots, and was to combat men that fought for freedom. They would be at the beck of a Prince that thirsted for despotism, who had not only a Tory Administration, but of men who had been Jacobites, as Lord Mansfield and Lord Gower,[6] and was supported by a zealous Clergy, particularly of those bred at Oxford; and the greatest efforts of the Scots had been to represent the Opposition as inciters of the rebellion which the army had been sent to crush. Would that army, had it returned victorious, have hesitated to make the King as absolute as they had made him in America? Would they not have been let loose against the friends of liberty as more rebels? I had a strong proof, on the 20th, of my suspicions being just. Lord Ossory showed me a letter from his brother, Richard Fitzpatrick, at Philadelphia, brought over privately by Colonel Harcourt, who was just arrived thence. Fitzpatrick had distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour, and had been mentioned with praise by General Howe to the King; but, though he had done his duty as an officer with spirit, yet, from his connection with his brother and Charles Fox, he disliked the cause. In this letter, which was admirably well written, he expressed his impatience to return, saying he was far more rooted in his principles from admiration of the noble behaviour of the Americans, and their love of freedom;

[6] At this very moment Lord Gower frequently harangued on the dangers of republicanism; and all the partizans of the American war spoke of the Opposition as republicans. I have mentioned the King's calling them rebels.

and was disgusted with the army, who were grown to abhor the name of *Whigs*, and had lost all attachment to liberty. An invasion from France could not be so fatal as the return of such an army, unless calamity and the incapacity of the Ministers, and the obstinacy of the Sovereign, rouse the nation, drive out the Administration, punish them, and restore the constitution. If the acknowledgment of the independence of the Americans should reconcile them, and thence produce peace with France, I am persuaded the King will still think of satiating his vengeance on what he calls *the English Rebels*. But I think his blindness and folly will not let him advert to that advantage, still hoping that something may turn out to enable him to crush both England and America; and I think too that France will not lose such a moment to give us a dreadful blow: but from that we may in time recover, we never can from the subversion of the constitution. How blindly the Court was infatuated by the vision of despotism appeared by another circumstance. Though all our greatness had been founded on trade, the Ministers, and Lord North as much as any one (for there was no part he was not base enough to act), for fear the loss of American trade should alarm the nation, had propagated a doctrine *that we could do without the American trade*; that Russia, Poland, and Germany took off as great a quantity of our manufactures as our hands could furnish, and that we could not be enriched by more trade than we could supply.[7] False position!—for the glut with Russia

[7] There was this other falsehood in that position: we could not furnish more commodities for the demands of trade, because so many hands were taken from manufactures to supply the army and navy. Lord Barrington, too, early in the war, had bragged that the decay of trade would force manufacturers to enlist. Thus, by a rotation of the most wicked policy, the Ministers crippled trade to get soldiers, and then pleaded that we had more trade than we could supply.

and Poland arose from the years in which their wars had prevented their dealing with us, and other nations might run away with those markets, which they could not with our own in America, where we were masters to affix the price. That commerce, too, was the nursery of our seamen. But it is frivolous to show the chicanery of such an argument. However, the only success the Ministers had in the American war was in sowing delusion and seeing it grow up.

The French Ambassador and his wife set out on their return on the 20*th*, at six in the morning—Madame de Noailles being afraid of insults[8] from the people. When Lord Weymouth acquainted him, as from himself, with Lord Stormont's recall, and advised his not appearing at Court, he answered he could not go away without orders from his Court: he received them on the 19th. He was a grave, decent, and very well-bred man, and had never given the smallest offence, being remarkably discreet. However, he spread his memorial with great activity, and the gentlemen of his suite with much impertinence. One, his relation, being told by a person that he was sorry for their going, replied, "Oh, we shall soon be back here;" meaning an invasion. Lord Stormont arrived the 20th, in the evening.[9]

The Court received advice of a treaty between the Emperor and France, by which the latter was to garrison his towns in Flanders, that he might employ his troops against the King of Prussia.

A strong report that the King had made new overtures to Lord Chatham. Some said the latter demanded nomi-

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[8] They actually were pelted as they went out of Canterbury.

[9] This was a false report. He said his wife had a swelled face; that kept him. Perhaps Lord Mansfield ordered him, by a private letter, to stay, in hopes the war might be avoided.

nation to all the departments; others, that he insisted on the dismission of Lord North and Lord George Germaine, but said he should not meddle with the dirty people of the Court; that, if the King liked dirty company, he was welcome to keep it.

24*th*. Lord Weymouth acquainted the Lords that, in consequence of the treaty between France and America, and of the increasing armaments of the former, his Majesty, according to the power given to him by Parliament, intended to call out the militia, which the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester declared they approved. The House then proceeded on the inquiries, and the Duke of Richmond recommended attention to Ireland and the West Indies, and to endeavour peace with America by acknowledging its independence; and he dissuaded declaring war with France, believing both the King of France and M. de Maurepas still inclined to peace. Lord Sandwich still boasted the strength of the fleet, but moved for adjourning the Committee. Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton attacked the Ministers on the consequences of their measures and the weakness of the nation; and the latter spoke with great indignation and bitterness on the report that Lord George Germaine was to be called up to that House —he that had been employed though degraded, and who had done nothing to deserve reward, but the contrary. Lord Lyttelton took a new turn and derided Lord Sandwich severely on the weakness of the fleet, after all his boasts, and then declared the necessity of calling for Lord Chatham, to whom and Lord Shelburne he paid great compliments. Some thought he was set on by the Court to feel the pulse of the House, but it is very probable that he believed the report that Lord Chatham was to come into place, and wanted to make his own peace. Had he

been prompted he would not have attacked Lord Sandwich. It is certain that Lord Denbigh and Lord Talbot gave loud applauses to his panegyric on Lord Chatham: they probably thought themselves included in the number of *the dirty* that he meant to spare. The adjournment was voted by 56 to 28.

The Duke of Gloucester, who had been ill again with his asthma and a cough, and was gone to the New Forest for the air, was returned to town, on the probability of war, and on the promotion of Lord Amherst. I was afraid he would be offended at it and resign his regiment, which would widen the breach between him and the King; nor could he afford to lose the income. I therefore immediately told him that Lord Amherst was to have no title as commander. The Duke replied, "That I will know in twenty-four hours." He wrote to the King, that hearing of the insult his Majesty had received from France, he had immediately come to town to offer his service; and as the King had wished him to retain his regiment, he hoped to be employed. He sent for Lord George Germaine and gave him the letter. Lord George told him that Lord North, the day before, viz. 21st, had told the Ministers there must be a Commander-in-Chief, and that he should propose Lord Amherst to the King. I doubt the truth of this; Lord George himself was much more likely to have named Amherst. Lord George added that he had asked Lord North how the Duke would like this? and that Lord North had answered with confusion and ill humour, "The Duke of Gloucester is very ill." Lord George had said, his Royal Highness was out of order, but not so bad but he would offer his service. The Duke told Lord George he should be very glad to have Amherst for assistant, and Amherst had said in return, he should be

proud to serve under his Royal Highness, and should rejoice to have his sanction. Lord George carried the Duke's letter to the King, but begged his Majesty would do nothing rashly, but take some days before he should give his answer. When the Duke told me of this, I said, "Sir, if there is no Commander named, I hope your Royal Highness will not be angry if you are not appointed." He replied, "People that are of no profession never feel as they do who are of one; but I promise you I will weigh it: I will do nothing rashly." I said, "Sir, I hope you will not. I think the King will not name you Commander-in-chief; he will say he will be so himself; and, if the French land, he will be frightened, and probably give your Royal Highness some separate command." He said that would content him. All the answer Lord George said he could obtain, after some days, was, that the King said he thought the Duke had no reason to complain, as nobody was named Commander-in-Chief. The difficulties of the times, however, seemed to soften the King a little; for, meeting the Duke riding, his Majesty pulled off his hat to him, which he had not done before. And on the 27th, on calling out the militia, which Lord Orford's insanity would not permit his commanding, Lord Weymouth wrote to Lord Hertford, by the King's order, to say he had a mind to appoint three Deputy-Lieutenants, whom he named, but would not fix till he knew they would be agreeable to the Walpole family, which Lord Hertford was desired to inquire. I wrote a very respectful answer. But this civility might have been occasioned, too, by a sort of civil remonstrance I had made on Lord William Gordon being appointed Deputy-Ranger of the Parks, without consulting us. My great point was to prevent any greater breach between the King and Duke. I

now took an opportunity of excusing General Conway to the Duke on the latter mentioning him with regard. I told him it had been solely my doing that General Conway had not waited on his Royal Highness, and had a hundred times reproached me with it, as I had often told the Duchess. The Duke said the Duchess had often told him I had taken that on myself. "Indeed, Sir," said I, "it is very true; I beg your Royal Highness's pardon, but I had rather you should be angry with me, who am the person in fault, than with him, whom I over-persuaded against his inclination."

The militia was now ordered out, and four days after the French had laid an embargo, we laid one on their ships when many were gone away. Little was done in either House, everybody waiting to see whether war would be declared, or if there would not be a change of Administration, which all men expected.

On the 27*th*, Lord Stormont arrived, declaring France had been much surprised at his recall, and that they did not expect or desire war.

I was told of a very remarkable incident. Dundas, the Scotch Lord Advocate, dined at Mr. Rigby's on the 27th, with seven or eight other persons. They sat drinking till one in the morning, when the Lord Advocate, being very drunk, broke out into an invective against the English. He said he would move for a repeal of the Union; that any ten Scots could beat any ten English; and if there were any competition, he was, and would avow himself, a Scot. Mr. Douglas, a friend of Lord Weymouth, was present, and so angry at this declaration, that he had a mind to have struck the Lord Advocate. I was told this by one to whom Mr. Rigby himself repeated the story.

30*th*. General Conway was with Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Grafton, and laboured to unite them, and

persuade the whole Opposition to union; but Lord Shelburne declared Lord Chatham would hear of nothing but the dependence of America.

31*st.* General Conway saw Dr. Franklin's letters, in which he positively asserted that he had power from the Americans still to treat with us; yet, both the Court and Lord Chatham were so mad, Conway could not bring about any endeavours of reunion with America. Lord Chatham was to have come to the House of Lords this day, but did not, in all probability the Court was negotiating with him and had not yet come up to his terms. One of the letters was to Hutton, the King's secret agent. Franklin said the Americans would not treat with the present cruel Administration, nor but on the foot of independence; these two reasons, especially the former, prevented all treaty at present.

30*th.* Colonel Barré, in a long and able speech, moved for a select Committee to examine the extraordinaries (?) of the army. Lord North was determined not to grant it, and opposed it with great heat; but, being little supported, and the temper of the House seeming to approve the motion, he yielded to it with ill grace, still no doubt hoping the Committee, though chosen by ballot, would consist of persons of the majority.

31*st.* Many more motions relative to the navy were proposed by Lord Effingham, and produced a very hot debate, with many personal and general reflections, between his Lordship, Lord Sandwich, the Duke of Richmond, and the Chancellor. Lord Effingham called the majority a servile one; the Duke expressed fears of the people rising against the Ministers, and reflected on Miss Ray, Lord Sandwich's mistress, who was supposed to sell favours in the Admiralty for money. The motions were rejected.

APRIL.

2*nd*. Lord North waited on the Duke of Gloucester, and told him that the King now intended to perform his promise of providing for his Royal Highness's children; that the next day, or as soon after as could be, his Majesty would send a message to Parliament to ask provision for his own children and for the Duke's. For his own sons he should ask 10,000*l*. a year each, and for his daughters 6000*l*.; for the Duke's son, Prince William, 8000*l*., and Princess Sophia, 4000*l*. This was certainly a handsome provision for the Duke's issue, in proportion to the King's, and considering the great number of the latter, the burthens of the country, and the present moment. The provisions for the King's children were to be paid out of the Civil List, a lesser part for the Duke's to be paid by Ireland, which would occasion a diminution of about 300*l*. or 400*l*. a year. The Duke was much pleased and grateful, but wished the whole for his children could be paid in the same manner as the rest; and he was so afraid of encumbering the favour with any difficulties that he would not name the Duchess, who was not mentioned; but Lord George Germaine told the Duke there was no precedent for naming her, nor was the Queen named with her children. This was certainly no reason, for the Queen's jointure was settled by Parliament before she had a child; but Lord George added, that there could be no doubt now of the Duchess having a handsome jointure, if his Royal Highness should die before her—nor indeed

could there be a doubt. Her marriage was acknowledged and confirmed by her children being established as Princes of the blood. Of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, as they had no issue, no mention was to be made; but the Duchess was entitled to whatever the Duchess of Gloucester was. Her family had behaved with much less caution and decency than we the Duchess of Gloucester's relations; but the latter Princess had not been so discreet. The Duke told me that Lord North behaved *as hoggishly* as if he had brought an angry message.

The same day Lord North acquainted the House of Commons that he intended to move for an additional five shillings to the subscribers to the new loan, as they had been losers by it. This was a strong proof of the want of credit, and his own friends objected to it so much that he dropped it.

4*th*. To the astonishment of mankind it was declared that Mr. Jackson was not to be one of the three Commissioners to America, but that Governor Johnston was; and he, Lord Carlisle, and Eden kissed hands. This confirmed the very bad opinion the world had of Johnston, and of his being a true Scot. To this moment he had long been in violent Opposition, had ridiculed Lord Carlisle egregiously (indeed both were equally mean in consenting to go together), and had even very lately declared strongly against the Independence of America, which could not make him a welcome negotiator there; but the great salary drowned all reasons. His brother, Mr. Pulteney,[1] had wished to be

[1] Sir William Johnston, a descendant of the Barons Johnston of Annandale, married Frances, sole child of Lieutenant-General Pulteney, brother of the Earl of Bath, who died childless in 1764, and to whose estates Frances was heiress. Johnston, on his marriage, took the name of Pulteney. The issue of this marriage, Henrietta Laura Pulteney, was created Baroness of Bath, 1794, and subsequently a Countess; but the title became extinct in 1808. Wil-

one of the Commissioners, and had lately been at Paris to talk with Dr. Franklin—the latter might have encouraged them, either seeing that Johnston's principles could veer to any point of interest, or to prevent success to the negotiation by so unwelcome a mediator. Franklin might have these covert views even in his reply to Hutton. It was not likely he would take any step that would lessen the honour he had gained of being the principal destroyer of the Empire of Great Britain. Dr. Robertson, the Historian, told me on the 5th that he knew Franklin well, who had been thrice in Scotland several years ago. Being once at Scone and told it was there the old Scottish Kings had used to be crowned, Franklin said, "Who knows but St. James's may some time or other lie in ruins as Scone does now,"—a commonplace reflection, if what has since happened did not make it memorable, and indicate how long he had harboured his plan.

The Committee of Accounts was chosen; the first five were in Opposition, the other sixteen hearty Courtiers.

The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland arrived in England on the prospect of the war with France, which, however, now grew more dubious: it was said we were trying to negotiate a peace; and it was thought so likely to take place, that the Stocks rose a little. All the English that arrived from Paris reported that the French wished it, though so lately eager for war; and that great rejoicings had been in France on the return of M. De la Mothe with his squadron, as if they had thought him in danger from ours; but it was said that he had conveyed the ships destined for

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liam Johnston Pulteney was elder brother of Governor Johnston; the latter was a brave, brutal, rash, overbearing, litigious, and rather clever personage, whose name, constantly before the public of the latter part of the last century, is now almost forgotten. —D.

America with stores, to a certain latitude, and then consigned them to a Spanish fleet, which, not having yet quarrelled with Spain, we could not attack. If France is not determined on war, it must be that she is not ready, and had trusted to our wanting spirit to resent the memorial of M. de Noailles. Admiral Keppel returned too from Portsmouth, and the King was so indiscreet as to ask him aloud in the Drawing Room in what condition he had found the fleet? he, having found it in a very bad one, had the prudence to reply, "I hope, Sir, your Majesty will give me a private audience after the Drawing Room." In Ireland the alarm was exceedingly great, and the Protestant gentlemen, before any requisition could be made by the Lord Lieutenant, began raising troops.

It was very remarkable that on the militia being ordered out, two of Lord Bute's younger sons offered, as Bedfordshire gentlemen, to take any rank in the militia in that county. I warned Lord Ossory, the Lord Lieutenant, against so dangerous a precedent as admitting Scots in the militia—and indeed, at a meeting of the Lords Lieutenants on the 5th, the Court having offered them half-pay officers, it was unanimously rejected. A militia can only be safe by being officered by men of property in each county. If indigent officers, attached only to the Crown, were introduced, it would make it the worst kind of standing army.

6th. Sir W. Meredith, in the House of Commons, moved for a repeal of all the inimical Acts against the Americans. In the course of the debate Charles Fox and *Burke* spoke for greater indulgence to Roman Catholics. At the end of the debate General Conway complained of the want of discipline in the army, and of the officers not studying the art of war. He said he hoped it would be better now Lord Amherst was set at the head of the mili-

tary. For himself, he looked on himself as laid aside, and could only give his advice in that House.

7th. The Duke of Richmond opened and read a very long and severe recapitulation of all that had been collected during the inquiries. Lord Chatham appeared in the House; he had told his particular friends that he laboured under great anxieties, yet must adhere to maintaining the sovereignty over America. He complained that the Court had been tampering with his physicians and everybody about him, but had made no direct offers to himself (which probably was the cause of his anger); he declared he would protest against ever compounding with the Ministers that had ruined this country, yet would not consent to the Independence of America, and would say that, before that could be done, the Prince of Wales ought to be brought to the House and give his consent to it—he did afterwards hint at that—and it looked a little as if his anger made him wish to spirit up the Prince. Dr. Addington, his physician, had laboured that very morning to dissuade him from going to the House, but he persisted, and endeavoured to answer the Duke of Richmond, after Lord Weymouth had replied to the letter; but it soon appeared that Lord Chatham was exceedingly weak, and his head not clear. He repeated his own words several times, and could not recollect the name of the Princess Sophia. He asserted the sovereignty, and bade the Lords not fear a French invasion; we had resisted Danish invasions, Norman usurpations, and Scottish inroads (the two first instances were directly contrary to his purpose); he said he wished for no place, nor was any man's enemy;—but he knew so little what he said, and was so weak, that he sat down. The Duke of Richmond answered Lord Weymouth and Lord Chatham, but with great tenderness and respect to

the latter, who was going to reply, but fell down in a second fit of apoplexy, and lay some time as one dead. He was carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, and in about twenty minutes recovered his speech. The first thing he said was, "I was going to recommend Prince Ferdinand for General." That was very likely, both from his regard for that Prince, and from his aversion to Lord George Germaine. He was carried to a messenger's house adjoining, and next day was better. The House of Lords paid Lord Chatham the respect of adjourning immediately.

8*th*. Lord Weymouth and Lord North delivered to the two Houses the King's message, desiring establishments for his own and the Duke of Gloucester's children, which was received in both Houses with the utmost respect and unanimity. Wilkes took notice that now for the first time the Duke's marriage was communicated to the House; he wished a jointure for the Duchess had been asked too. T. Townshend made a panegyric both on the Duke and Duchess, and expressed their content, to prevent any cavils that might offend the King, and he commended the Duke's virtues till he wept, himself.

The Lords then went on the Duke of Richmond's remonstrance of the preceding day, when it was rejected by 50 to 33. Lord Shelburne made a most bombast and ridiculous speech for the sovereignty over America, and said we could not want men for a French war: their Lordships would fight for their country; we abounded in people, every stage-coach was overloaded—even the ladies would cast away their feathers, and show how they despised Frenchmen. Lord Shelburne not only adopted his patron Lord Chatham's sentiments, but was as impatient to be in place, and no doubt intended to be so if Lord Chatham should die.

9*th*. The Chancellor had drawn a plan for giving some satisfaction to Lord Foley and his brother, on which the Lords seemed willing to pass it: yet the friends of the Foleys had not stuck entirely to the Chancellor's plan; the two other law Lords not being present, the Foley squadron, who had a majority of one present, would not consent to adjourn as the Chancellor desired,—he pleading fatigue They behaved most indecently, especially Lord Derby, and even the Duke of Richmond was too earnest for proceeding that very day. The Chancellor complained grievously of the usage, and many that wished well to Lady Foley were yet shocked; at last Lord Sandwich, who declared he had been rather disposed to grant the bill, broke out against the indecency of his friends, and moved to have the bill sent back to the Judges, to which the House agreed.

Lord Cornwallis, who was returned, and had spoken too freely on American affairs, was suddenly ordered back thither, and with so little civility, that De Grey, Lord G. Germaine's Secretary, told him of it in the House of Lords, and that he must go in the ship with the Commissioners, and that there was only room for his Lordship and one servant.

10*th*. Wilkes moved to address the King to lay before the House the proofs entered into the Council books of the marriages of the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland. This motion was received by the whole House with the utmost disgust and indignation. Even Rigby, who the last year had opposed Sir James Lowther's proposal for an augmentation of the appanages of the two Royal Dukes, now rose and asked if any man living doubted of the legality of those marriages? that he had sat in Council the day of their being registered, and did not wish to see a

motion that implied the least doubt: out of respect to his Royal Highness of Gloucester, he thought the bill should be read a second time immediately. This appeared to be the universal sense, except of that profligate old reprobate, Lord Irnham, who pretended that, in justice to the Princess of Brunswick,[2] the legality of the marriages of her brothers ought to be ascertained. He added all the malicious reports that had been spread on the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester, and urged the King's refusal of suffering the Duke's daughter, the Princess Matilda, to be buried in the Royal vault, as a mark of the King's doubting the marriage. But all this venom only poisoned itself, and turned into attestations of the virtue of the Duchess of Gloucester. Not a single person supported the malevolence of Irnham. Thomas Townshend and Thomas Walpole bore the highest testimony to the characters of the Duke and Duchess; the former hinted a wish of reconciliation between the King and his brothers, and the latter recommended to Lord Irnham, from his connection with the Duke of Cumberland, to advise Wilkes to withdraw his motion. Sir James Lowther recommended a settlement of jointures on the two Duchesses, which Wilkes immediately adopted, and withdrew his motion, to the utter confusion of the Luttrells; and the bill for the Royal children was carried through both Houses with the utmost rapidity, and received the Royal assent with general satisfaction.

Wilkes must be acquitted of any sinister intention in this absurd motion. On the first delivery of the King's

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[2] Immediately after the King's message the Luttrells had inserted in the public papers two or three malicious and extravagant passages, reflecting on the Duchess of Gloucester's marriage, and asserting that acknowledging her children would be an injury to the issue of the Princess of Brunswick. The authors were immediately guessed, and the father's speech on Wilkes's motion proved the public had not been mistaken.

message, he had proposed a jointure for the Duchess of Gloucester—somebody near him said, "Why do not you mention the Duchess of Cumberland, too?" he replied, "Well, and the Duchess of Cumberland, with all my heart." This proved he had no zeal for the House of Luttrell, his old antagonists; but that old fiend,[3] Lord Irnham, had now duped him, and persuaded him that both the Dukes wished to have their marriages confirmed by Parliament. It was indeed duping him, for the provision for the Duke of Gloucester's children as of the blood Royal was the most authentic confirmation—unless the indignation of the House at the surmisal of a doubt was not a still stronger approbation. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and the Luttrells were certainly dissatisfied at no mention being made of that Prince and Princess—but they had no children; and as the Duchess of Gloucester was not named, the other Duchess had no reason to complain;—and as the Duchess of Gloucester's children were acknowledged and provided for, she herself must have a suitable jointure as their mother; and if she had a jointure, the Duchess of Cumberland must have one too. Had the King had no children, or not near so many, and if the Duke of Cumberland had had even one, or even if he had not, the ambition of the Luttrells might have tempted them to endeavour to throw a slur on the legitimacy of the Duke of Gloucester's children—but nothing but the basest rancour could dictate such an injury, when the Duke of Gloucester and his issue were at such a vast distance from the Crown. The Duke of Cumberland had not said a word, when the Duke of Gloucester told him of the intended provision for his chil-

[3] This expression alludes to Lord Irnham's being the hero of the 'Diaboliad.'

dren. He had promised the Duke of Cumberland to receive no favour for himself, unless the same was indulged to his brother; but having children, and his brother none, he could not refuse for his children what it was impossible to grant equally to the Duke of Cumberland, whose children, should he have any, would indubitably be intitled to a like provision. The morning Lord Irnham was to machinate the intended motion, Colonel Coxe, one of the Duke of Gloucester's gentlemen, going to wait on the Duke of Cumberland, on returning from America, he walked about the room in great disorder, said he was in the utmost agony, and was going to send for Coxe, yet did not tell him the subject of his uneasiness. However, he afterwards sent his brother Gloucester word, how wretched he had been at not being able to prevent Lord Irnham from procuring the motion. It is true that the Duchess of Gloucester had originally and imprudently, against my persuasion, behaved coolly to the Duchess of Cumberland. But the honest warmth and integrity of the former was not formed to assimilate with the artful character of the latter. The folly of the Duke of Cumberland, so opposite to the cool good sense and stately dignity of the Duke of Gloucester, and the odious enmities in the family of Luttrell, could but disgust the Duchess of Gloucester, who had quick parts, and as quick resentments, undisguised frankness, with conscious virtue, and no idea of art and artifice. She had every merit as a wife, a mother, a daughter, and a friend; and though she resented strongly the slights of such of her friends as abandoned her to pay their court, and the time-serving timidity of the Opposition, who shunned the Duke almost as much as the Courtiers, she never assumed the slightest symptom of princely pride towards those that remained attached to her, nor disguised

the easy, cheerful familiarity of her nature, even in presence of the Duke, who did not love to relax the severe formulary of Royalty. He had more good nature than good humour, and more good sense than commonly appeared; for though he never said a silly thing, he had none of the graces of conversation, nor an ingratiating manner, but he had a just sense of honour and strict veracity, and no insincerity. He despised the King, but found it difficult to withdraw his love for him. He truly esteemed the Duchess, especially since he had so strongly experienced her tenderness, assiduity, and care during his great illness at Trent. He was a very fond and indulgent father, especially to his daughter, on whom he doted. What would have been his choice of friends I cannot judge. His hard fortune had left him none but fools, or such absurd men as Lord Beaulieu and Captain Walsingham; yet he allowed them such liberties and familiarity as looked as if he could waive his dignity towards his favourites: and of the few that attached themselves to him, he justly distinguished Mr. Thomas Townshend, who was far the most sensible man connected with him. After his last return I seemed to be much more welcome to him than formerly; but I attributed it more to the constant respect I paid to him, and to his desire of political information, than to any personal regard for me. I never, or very seldom, went to him but in an evening when he was with the Duchess, nor took the least pains to be a favourite, though he spoke with great confidence to me whenever a natural occasion offered. But now the provision for his family was made, I intended to be less assiduous in my visits. It had never been my purpose to be a courtier; I constrained myself more than I liked, because they were in disgrace, and lest he should be dissatisfied with the Duchess if her relations trespassed on his dignity: but I was fully determined

never to try to be his favourite, which is only being the first slave. I had much more pride than ambition or love of interest; and when my father had been Prime Minister of England, I could not aspire to be First Minister to a younger branch of the Royal Family, and to a little Court of no consequence. It was plain I did not, and that none of the Duke's family had the least jealousy, for I treated them every one with so much civility and deference, and was so cautious of not suffering them to think that I assumed any pretensions from my relation to the Duchess, that I never went into the palace but every one was glad to see me; and thus I made what attendance I paid on a Court as easy to me as such a life could be, and entirely avoided all shadow of the jealousies and little intrigues that naturally attend it, and not less a small than a great one. But having no views but that of wishing not to offend, it was not hard to attain what nobody envied. Perhaps the same attention would have served me had I applied it where it could have been of advantage—for all this time I was constantly once a week of Princess Amelia's parties; and though she had broken with her nephew on his marrying my niece, and was of a temper still more ungovernable than the Duchess's, I contrived to give her no offence, and even to prevent her giving me any. Thus did chance and accidents make a courtier of a man almost a Republican, and decide without and against my choice that the beginning and end of my life should be attached to Princes and Princesses; and that I should be perhaps a singular instance of being at once an unwilling courtier, and yet not a disappointed one.

10*th*. In the House of Commons Mr. Powys moved to enlarge the powers of the Commissioners going to America, meaning, he owned, that they might have power to allow the Independence of that Country. That proposal was far

from being received with unanimity even by the Opposition, the two factions of Lord Chatham and Lord Rockingham differing as much as Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Richmond had in the House of Lords. Not only Governor Johnston, one of the new Commissioners, and his brother Pulteney, opposed the motion, but so did Thomas Walpole, Thomas Townshend, jun., and Dunning. The Scotch Lord Advocate again spoke most intemperately for pursuing the attempt of conquering America, and was well answered by Fox and Burke. Lord Mulgrave and Lord North opposed the motion, Sir George Saville supported it, but it was rejected by the previous question.

13*th*. A violent attack was made on Lord North. His contract for rum with Adamson and Muir had been so shameful, that Sir Philip Jennings Clarke now moved for a bill to prohibit contractors from sitting in Parliament. Lord North begged the House to suspend their opinion of him till the Select Committee should make their report on the rum contract. Lord George Gordon, a younger brother of the Duke, started up, and said Lord North was the contractor for all contractors, and *he* could prove had attempted to make a villainous contract—had offered his brother the Duke 1000*l*. a year if he would get him, Lord George, out of Parliament, but the Duke had rejected the villainous offer. Such unparliamentary language created great hubbub. Many tried to convince the young Lord of the unparliamentary indecency of the term *villainous*—Lord North was exceedingly confounded, but did not deny the charge, he only pleaded that there was nothing *villainous* in the offer.[4] Lord George was at last persuaded to re-

[4] Lord George Gordon had been constantly in Opposition; and Lord North had wished to bring his brother, Lord William Gordon, into Parliament in his room.

tract the term, but he said the fact was true, and the House might call it by what name they pleased. Another blow to Lord North concluded the day; for, leave for bringing in the bill against contractors was carried against him by 71 to 50.

14*th.* Sir George Saville moved to repeal the Quebec Bill, but the motion was rejected by 96 to 51.

16*th.* Account of Mr. Adams, from the Congress, being landed in France, and of his having taken a rich prize.

22*nd.* The three Commissioners sailed from Portsmouth.

Great alarm in Ireland on apprehensions of a French war and invasion, and great zeal thence. Associations and subscriptions. Parliament voted 300,000*l.* Roman Catholics professed much, and so they did in England; and Lord and Lady Petre went to Court for the first time.

26*th.* Accounts of the French Fleet being sailed from Toulon under Monsieur D'Estaing and Bougaineville, with provisions for nine months and quantities of stores. Deane was on board, and a new French Minister to the Congress. These circumstances made it supposed destined for America; some thought against Gibraltar.

In the midst of this the nation was insensible, except in drawing out the militia. The King's behaviour was childish and absurd. He ordered the camp equipage, and said he would command the army himself. He ordered a camp near Billericay, a marshy, unhealthy spot, where the men were likely to get agues, &c., and would not be persuaded off it. Since General Harvey's death, he directed everything in the army himself, and allowed General Amherst no power. He told all the Ministers he would be his own Minister, and they must keep to their depart-

ments. On General Gisburne's death, he ordered Lord Weymouth to make out a warrant for Sir Guy Carleton to succeed to the Government of Charlemont; and when Lord George Germaine went to tell him of the vacancy, he found it filled up by Carleton, the man he disliked the most.

In the midst of this he went with Lord Sandwich to visit the lines at Chatham, and then by the same persuasion said he would visit the Fleet of Observation at Portsmouth, which he not only did with the Queen, May 2nd, at great expense, but had the fleet detained for him several days. This occasioned great clamour and ridicule, though not so much as it ought to have done: and he did not even make use of the pretence of carrying the Prince of Wales to see that puppet show, to whose youth it would have been a sight, but left him at home out of jealousy.

At this time there was another great difficulty: Thurlow had been promised to be Chancellor, but hearing that De Grey was to be a Peer too, that Wedderburn might be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a Peer also, Thurlow said he would not take the seals if Wedderburn was a Peer. The Speaker and Sir Laurence Dundas, who had promises of peerages, remonstrated against Wedderburn too: the Scotch Lord Advocate supported him, but Lord North said it would give so much offence, that he must resign; so the arrangement was impeded.

An alarm that one Paul Jones, a Scot, had sailed from Dieppe to Whitehaven, had landed with the men of his privateer in the night, had set fire to one of the ships in the harbour, and had very near burnt all the ships in the harbour—but an alarm being given, he had re-embarked and sailed to Scotland; and, being born within fifteen miles

of Lord Selkirk's, had landed there and taken the plate and plundered the seat. The Countess was in the House, but he treated her with civility.

General Conway had applied to Lord Sandwich for a frigate to guard Jersey and Guernsey, of the first of which he was Governor. Lord Sandwich, though he had assured the House of Lords that there were nineteen frigates at home, owned to Conway there were but two and never a sloop, all being in America, and that he had borrowed of Keppel one of the two frigates to send against Paul Jones.

The Parliament met again on the 28th, after the Easter holidays.

MAY.

2nd. THE King and Queen went to Portsmouth.

[*New Publications.*—It is reported, that in a few days will be published, in two volumes, folio, an accurate account of his 'Majesty's Journeys to Chatham and Portsmouth, together with a minute Description of his numerous Fatigues, Dangers, and hair-breadth Escapes; to which will be added the Royal Bon-mots.' And the following week will be published, an 'History of all the Campaigns of the King of Prussia,' in one volume, duodecimo.]

4th. Lord Derby moved the Lords to rescind their order which referred Lord Foley's bill to the Judges: but it was rejected by 40 to 32. The Duke of Richmond would not vote.

In the other House, after most pressing solicitations from

the Treasury for attendance, the Contractor's Bill was put off for two months (in effect thrown out), by 113 to 109.

5th. Lord North asked from the King a vote of credit (for a million). Thomas Townshend and others made severe remarks on the puppet show at Portsmouth, and the detaining of the fleet on that account, though the Toulon Fleet was sailed. Even Mr. Pulteney expressed great indignation on that subject.

7th. The King's message being read, Lord North moved to grant 1,000,000*l.* T. Townshend, Charles Fox, and Mr. Burke attacked the Ministers with great warmth on their receiving an account of the sailing of the Toulon Fleet on the Monday, and not calling a Council even to give orders on that occasion till the Wednesday. Nor did it appear that they had given positive orders for sailing of any part of our fleet till the wind was turned to the west, as was usual at this time of the year—in fact, they had only been sending about for Sir Hugh Palliser; nor was the fleet ready to sail, nor sufficient stores on board. Mr. Fox even hinted having heard that Lord George Germaine was so dissatisfied with the other Ministers, that he had threatened to resign. Lord George no doubt was looking about for specious reasons of retreat. So were Lord North and Lord Gower: the King's conduct and the desperate state of affairs could not but disgust and alarm them.

Lord George did not positively deny his dissatisfaction, and though in a soft way he pleaded that the Ministers had been out of town, his gestures, while Fox was speaking, seemed to agree to all he said; and when he did answer, it was in a manner that by no means disculpated his associates. He even went so far as to say that affairs were in so bad and dangerous a way, that he acquitted the

Opposition of wishing to come into place. No negative was given to the vote of credit.

There was another affair in agitation that grievously perplexed the Ministers, and was big with alarming consequences on both sides. The rebellion in America had suggested ideas of more indulgence to Ireland, with which the Irish had great connections. This propensity had been seized by the Irish in the English House of Commons, particularly by Lord Nugent and Burke; and Lord North, with his usual inconsideration, had positively promised to favour Ireland in many commercial bills. In the mean time the trading towns on the Western Coast had taken the alarm, and sent up petitions against any alteration. The Scots took up the point as strongly, and the Duke of Bridgewater, whose navigation, and Lord Derby, whose estate was likely to be affected, joined in the cry. Lord North, as usual, grew heedless of his promise, and wished not to perform it; but neither side was to be mollified. The Irish talked of rebellion if disappointed; and Conolly even in the House threatened that the Irish would associate not to take any goods from us if the promise were not kept.

On the *7th* the Debate came on, and lasted till past one in the morning. Burke, though he knew he should forfeit all interest with his constituents at Bristol, combatted with all his abilities for his country, and the first Bill was voted in favour of Ireland by 126 to 77. [*Vide* the 'London Chronicle' of May 9th.]

The same day the Duke of Richmond moved for all letters received relating to the destination of the Toulon Squadron. Lord Weymouth at first opposed it, and called for the previous question, but on a sudden acceded to the motion, and it was voted, as it was the next day by the Commons.

9*th.* The King and Queen returned from Portsmouth.

11*th.* Died, Lord Chatham. At ten at night, as the House of Commons was going to rise, Colonel Barré moved (and was seconded by T. Townshend, who wept) to address the King to give orders to the proper officers that the funeral of the Earl of Chatham should be at the public expense. Rigby submitted to the House whether a monument would not be more proper than a public burial, which would only be the show of a day. He assured the House that what he said was with no intention of dissenting; that nobody admired more than he did the character of the noble Earl, though at times they had differed in sentiments: nor had Colonel Barré always agreed with the Earl (Barré had first been known by his outrageous attack on Lord Chatham). He owned he thought the noble Earl a public loss in *the present distracted state of affairs,* and that the last words he had uttered in public ought to be graved on his monument (those were, for reducing America to dependence). Dunning seconded Rigby. Lord North, who was gone, being sent for, returned, and said he gave his hearty consent, and would have troubled the House longer, had he had more preparation, and was not so out of breath. The question was voted, *nem. con.* Pulteney proposed the Members should be ordered to attend the funeral; but Barré said he was sure the attendance would be voluntary, and therefore have a better grace.

The same day died Sir George Hay.

The Lords heard Horne's appeal, but confirmed his sentence by 20 to 4.

12*th.* Mr. Burke published his two letters to Bristol on the Irish Bills.

13*th.* Lord Shelburne moved that the Lords should

attend Lord Chatham's funeral, and there was, on a division, a majority of one vote for it; but proxies being called for, the numbers were equal, which, in the Lords, is reckoned a negative. It is remarkable that two of the dissenting voices were Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, who owed the primacy entirely to Lord Chatham, and Lord Onslow, who formerly had been one of his most servile creatures.

The same day Lord John Cavendish moved to address the King to settle a permanent fortune on the Earldom of Chatham, which was agreed to.

General Burgoyne arrived. He was immediately forbidden to appear at Court, and a board of general officers appointed to examine his conduct.

The same day, Sir George Saville moved to take off several restraints on the Roman Catholics, which was voted, *nemine contradicente.*

Sir George Saville was probably influenced by Burke. Lord Petre had consulted Lord Camden, who told him he could give no opinion till he saw the intended bill, and till he knew what the Dissenters would think. Surely, when the Court were so disposed to the Catholics, there was no occasion for the Opposition to favour them. The Court, by their precipitation to gain the Catholics and the Irish, told France how weak and afraid they were. These were great experiments to try without consideration; and when weighed with the refusal of all indulgence to Dissenters, showed what a spirit prevailed. The Bishop of Peterborough alone made some slight objections in the Lords. He told me he did it from foreseeing it would be an introduction of Roman Catholics into the army. The Ministers had told Sir George that if he would remove it they would support it.

The same day came an account that Marshal Broglio was appointed Generalissimo on the coasts of the ocean. This portended invasion, or was intended to alarm us and make us keep our fleet at home.

18*th.* Died, Robert Darey, Earl of Holderness, aged sixty. This was the second person to whom the King had long promised a Garter, who died without receiving it. Lord Harcourt was the other. The King some time before had told Lord North (knowing the dangerous state of Lord Holderness's health) that he would not have him (Lord North) recommend anybody for Warden of the Cinque Ports, his Majesty having a person in his eye for it. On Lord Holderness's death, the King told Lord North he had given the place *to Lord North.* It was now given to him with its usual salary, about 500*l.* a year; but, if Lord North quitted the Treasury, it was to be as Lord Holderness had had it, 4000*l.* a year for life. Some thought the King threw this opportunity in Lord North's way of resigning, as he had often asked leave to do; others, to bind him by that obligation not to quit him. The Duke of Dorset had solicited Lord North for the Wardenship, and Lord North had promised him by letter not to ask for it himself. The Duke now carried the letter to the King as a promise; the King said, "He has not broke his promise; he did not ask for it." However, the distinction was nice!

20*th.* Lord North acquainted the House of Commons, from the King, that, in pursuance of their request, he had settled an annuity of 4000*l.* a year on the Earl of Chatham, which they must make perpetual.[1]

21*st.* The Irish bill was passed by 79 to 23, and was

[1] The Commons also voted 20,000*l.* for paying Lord Chatham's debts.

carried through. It was very necessary, for the distress in Ireland was so great that the weavers rose and committed great riots; and, had the bill been rejected, it was apprehended the Irish would have rebelled.

General Burgoyne appeared in the House of Commons, but said nothing, nor was anything said to him; but two days afterwards appearing there, Mr. Vyner declared he should desire leave to ask him some questions. Burgoyne replied he should be very ready to answer any, and should even declare some things that would astonish everybody. He had intended to have Charles Fox question him in order to bring out what he wished—a step that showed he thought himself, as it made him, desperate with the Ministers. *They* were now sorry they had not thought of ordering him back directly, as he was come without leave.

The Common Council having resolved to desire to bury Lord Chatham at St. Paul's, the Sheriffs acquainted the House with that desire on the 21st: Dunning, T. Townshend, Barré, and Burke recommended compliance. Rigby made a most indiscreet speech against the Common Council, expressing the utmost contempt for them, which was answered severely by Barré, who told Rigby he ought to prefer St. Paul's, as there would be room enough for his person (which was very corpulent). The motion was ordered to lie on the table. The King told Lord Hertford he would not meddle with it—they might do what they would with the corpse, but he would not let the Guards go into the City.

22*nd*. An account came of the Toulon Fleet being driven back and returned to Toulon. Count D'Estaing certainly went to Paris to complain of the bad condition of the fleet.

It was known that Sir James Lowther intended, as he had declared he would, to move for jointures for the two Royal Duchesses. The Duke of Gloucester spoke to me on it with great uneasiness, and said he did not know how to act; for, if he meddled against it, his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, would resent it, as if, when his own family was taken care of, he opposed a settlement for the Duchess of Cumberland. I said I thought there was an easy way of avoiding that difficulty, which would be by the Duchess of Gloucester sending to Sir James Lowther to desire he would not mention her, as she was so much obliged to the King for the provision for her children, and that she did not desire anything for herself; and that behaviour would be the most likely method of pleasing the King, and inducing him to give her a jointure. The Duke was struck with the idea and put it in execution with full success. The Duchess of Gloucester desired the Duchess of Bolton, Sir James Lowther's favourite sister, to tell him, in her name, that she was greatly obliged to him for his intention, but begged him not to name her; that she was infinitely obliged to the King, and fully satisfied with what he had done for her children; that she being older than the Duke, and his health being now quite re-established, she had no reason to expect to outlive him; and, even if she should, she trusted the King would be too good to leave her without a provision.[2] That she did not pretend to

[2] The Duchess did outlive the Duke. The latter died in August, 1805, in his sixty-second year; the Duchess, in August, 1807, in her sixty-ninth year. The journals of the period made the general remark that her death left only one lineal descendant of Sir Robert Walpole living,—the Marquis of Cholmondeley, whose grandfather (the third Earl Cholmondeley) married, in 1723, Mary, the only daughter of Sir Robert. This marriage conveyed Houghton Hall, Norfolk, to the Cholmondeley family. The writers in the journals above noticed, who admitted the descent, though illegitimate, of the Duchess from Sir Robert, forgot that there was issue of her sister, Mrs. Keppel (whose descent was of the same character), then existing.—D.

meddle with what related to the Duchess of Cumberland, and spoke only for herself; and that the Duchess of Cumberland, having no children, had not been named in the late Act, and therefore it might be more necessary to think of some provision for her. Sir James Lowther was much pleased with the message, and said he had no mind to make the motion, but he had promised it to the Luttrells, and they were very pressing with him to make it; but he would endeavour to get off. He did talk to Temple Luttrell for an hour, and could get no answer from him; but the next morning he released Sir James Lowther from his promise. The argument that probably prevailed was that the Duchess of Gloucester had told the Duchess of Bolton that all the Duke of Gloucester's friends would retire on the motion, which would show it came only from the Luttrells, who had no friends in the House. Sir James Lowther, by his great estates and interest in Cumberland and Westmoreland, was continually engaged in procuring turnpike bills, and the Luttrells paid the utmost court to him in attending them, which gave them great weight with him.

A great secret now came out, which Lord Temple diligently published. But a little before Lord Chatham's death, Lord Bute had sent Eden (Lord Suffolk's deputy, and one of the three Commissioners to America) to him with offers of making him Prime Minister, and of a Dukedom, and that Lord Bute would come in with him as Secretary of State. Lord Chatham treated the message and the messenger with the utmost contempt, and said, "Tell the fellow, that if he dares to come out I will impeach him." He had even intended on the day he had his fit to have divulged the message to the House of Lords. He spoke of it at his own table with ridicule, laughed at a Dukedom without an estate, said he should be Duke

and no Duke, and ironically called Lady Chatham, *Your Grace.*

25*th.* The Duke of Richmond attacked Lord Sandwich on all the falsities he had uttered in Parliament on the state of the Navy, and showed from the papers delivered in by the Ministers that they had had early intelligence enough to have sent a fleet to prevent the Toulon squadron passing the Straits; and he proposed a motion of censure on that subject. Lord Bristol joined in the attack on his quondam friend Sandwich; and the Duke, finding that not one of the Ministers had a word to say in behalf of Sandwich, condoled with him ironically on that head. Sandwich made a wretched defence, and, betrayed the utmost agony and perturbation, and the motion was rejected but by a majority of 15.[3]

26*th.* General Burgoyne appeared in the House of Commons, which was so exceedingly crowded that they were forced to turn out the strangers, though Burgoyne begged they might stay and hear his defence. Vyner, after asking him some questions on the affair of Saratoga, moved for a Committee to inquire into his conduct. Burgoyne seconded him, gave an account of his conduct, said nothing hard on General Howe, did great justice to the Americans, and complained much of his being forbidden the King's presence. Lord George Germaine contested the possibility of Burgoyne's being examined by a Committee, being a prisoner. This Burgoyne denied, but said the Congress had permitted him to come to England to clear his character. He made great encomiums on General Schuyler and the Americans. Though he had destroyed an estate of Schuyler's, the latter told him he

[3] There was a debate in the House of Commons on the same occasion.

should have done the same in the same circumstances; and even lodged Burgoyne, and took care that nobody in his family should ever name the affair of Saratoga before him.

Lord George observed that the word *permitted* proved his being a prisoner. Charles Fox wondered there could be any doubt of trying the General when the Minister, Lord George, had been tried; and his conduct had appeared so unsatisfactory that the Committee had made no report to the House; and he moved to extend the inquiry to the whole measure of the expedition. Temple Luttrell compared the conduct of Burgoyne with that of Lord George Germaine, who, he said, had been promoted for disobedience and timidity. Lord George started up in the most violent rage, and clapping his hand on his sword, said, though he was an old man, he would not hear such an insult from a young man, who was an assassin and of the most wretched character. This produced the highest warmth and clamour. Luttrell went out of the House that they might not be prevented fighting; but they forced him back by order of the House, when he would not retract a syllable, said he had said nothing but what was on record, and declared he would be sent to prison rather than retract. Lord North said a few faint words for Lord George, though he owned he had been disorderly. Mr. Buller was for committing Luttrell, but most condemning Lord George; the latter made apologies, and called Luttrell his *noble friend*, which the latter rejected with great indignation. The confusion lasted above two hours, when Luttrell was forced to disclaim any farther resentment. The motion for a Committee was rejected by 144 to 96. The Board of Officers dropped: Burgoyne would not submit to it, and it was allowed to have been improperly appointed.

"ETIQUETTE.

"What though America doth pour
Her millions to Britannia's store,
(Quoth Grenville) that won't do; for yet,
Though it risk all, and nothing get,
Taxation is the etiquette.

"The tea destroy'd; the offer made
That all the loss should be repaid:
North asks not justice, nor the debt,
But he must have the etiquette.

"He'd stop their port, annul their laws.
'Hear us,' cried Franklin, 'for our cause!'
To hear th' accus'd the senate met,
Decreed 'twas not the etiquette.

"At Bunker's Hill the cause was tried;
The earth with British blood was dy'd:
Our army, though 'twas soundly beat
(We hear), bore off the etiquette.

"The bond dissolv'd, the people rose;
Their rulers from themselves they chose:
Their Congress then at nought was set;
Its *name* was not the etiquette.

"Though 'twere to stop the tide of blood,
Their titles must not be allow'd—
(Not to the chiefs of armies met)
One Arnold was the etiquette.

"The Yankees at Long Island found
That they were nearly run aground;
Howe let them 'scape when so beset—
He will explain that etiquette.

"His aides-de-camp to Britain boast
Of battles *Yankee* never lost;
But they are *won* in the Gazette—
That saves the nation's etiquette.

"Clinton his injured honour saw;
Swore he'd be tried by martial law,
And kick Germaine whene'er they met:
A *riband* saved that etiquette.

"Though *records* speak Germaine's disgrace,
To quote them to him to his face
(The Commons now are *si honnête*),
They voted, not the etiquette.

"Of Saratoga's dreadful plain—
An army ruin'd—why complain?
To pile their arms as they were let,
Sure they came off with etiquette!

"Cries Burgoyne, 'They may be reliev'd;
That army still may be retriev'd,
To see the King, if I be let.'
'No, Sir! 'Tis not the etiquette.'

"God save the King! and should he choose
His people's confidence to lose,
What matters it? They'll not forget
To serve him still, through etiquette."

Lord Barrington declared his intention of retiring, and quitting his seat in Parliament; but he still kept his office till the King should be ready to appoint a successor.

28*th*. Hartley moved to address the King not to prorogue but only adjourn the Parliament in the present dangerous crisis,—wishing to give opportunity to Burgoyne of clearing himself. Rigby spoke *with great animosity against Burgoyne*, and promised that he himself would move that he should have a trial; and he said that Howe was at least less blamable than Burgoyne. Wedderburn objected to Burgoyne's sitting in Parliament while a prisoner, but gave most absurd arguments. Fox made a very[4]

[4] It was one of the best speeches he ever made, and full of sense and matter. See an abstract of it in the 'General Advertiser.'

masterly and severe speech against Lord North, but the motion was rejected by 105 to 53. Burgoyne took great part in the Debate, which was a very long one.

30*th*. An express came from Sussex and went in boots to Lord North at the Opera,[5] which gave great alarm—a report of the French being landed; but it was, that part of the Brest squadron had passed the coast of Sussex, and that the squadron had orders to attack Byron's fleet. The express brought an account of a mutiny in the county, the inhabitants refusing to be balloted for into the Militia, which was soon composed by the Duke of Richmond.

JUNE.

1*st*. On the second reading of the Bill for settling an annuity on the title of Chatham, in the Lords, the Duke of Chandos opposed it on the present distresses of the nation, and the Chancellor agreed with him; but as the House was so thin, and no Debate was expected, desired to have it deferred till the next day, to which the Duke agreed. It was debated the next day, and voted by 42 to 11. The Chancellor, Markham, Archbishop of York, the Duke of Chandos, and Lord Paget protested against the Act. This was mean revenge in Markham for Lord Chatham having censured his sermon, which the Archbishop had not had

[5] Sir John Vanbrugh's edifice, built in 1705, and burnt down in 1789. At this period it retained its name of the "New Opera House." They who love to trace Walpole and his companionship may be interested in knowing that (as I learn from the box-plan now before me) the box No. 3, on the ground tier, called "Lady Aylesbury's," was held, in partnership with her, by Lady Mary Coke, Lady Strafford, Lord Hertford, General Conway, and Horace Walpole.—D.

the spirit to take notice of in the House while Lord Chatham lived.

2*nd*. Lord Derby, whose aunt, General Burgoyne had married, and who resented his disgrace so much that he would not go to Court, moved the Lords to address for all the papers relating to the convention of Saratoga, but it was rejected without a division.

The Duke of Bolton moved that the Parliament should not be prorogued, but adjourned, which was also rejected by 42 to 20.

Sir James Lowther acquainted the House of Commons that he should defer till the next year his promised motion for jointures for the two Royal Duchesses, hoping his Majesty would in the mean time provide for them. He also said that, as since the proposed motion for only adjournment had been rejected, an account had been received of the arrival in America of the Andromeda, which had carried the propositions of conciliation, it would be proper to renew the motion, to give Parliament time to hear the effect of those proposals, which he therefore did renew. This was objected to by the Court, when Richard Fitzpatrick, brother of Lord Ossory and great friend of Charles Fox, having arrived the day before from America, rose and gave a strong account of the extreme dissatisfaction the conciliatory plan had occasioned in the Royal Army, and contempt in the Americans. He complained that the Army had been promised 20,000 recruits and had been deceived, commended General Howe, and complained bitterly how ill that General, and Burgoyne and Carleton, had been treated by the Administration. Lord George Germaine denied that he had given such promises, and said his letters mentioned nothing of such dissatisfaction. The motion was rejected by 94 to 54.

3*rd*. The Chancellor resigned the Seal, which was given to Thurlow, who was made a Baron. Wedderburn, not having been able to obtain his peerage, which had been strongly opposed, was forced to content himself with succeeding as Attorney-General, and Wallace as Solicitor-General. Lord North kissed hands for the Cinque Ports.

Anecdote of the present Keeper of the K—'s Conscience. His Lordship *qualified* a few years since for a place, which was the last step he took to his present cushioned seat, and the clerk of the parish having waited on him for his fees of office, he gave him a guinea. *Amen* not testifying any great satisfaction or gratitude in his countenance, the *noble* Lord is said to have exclaimed with some degree of vehemence, "Friend, what would you have? Do not you think a *guinea* to be the full value of a *bit* of *bread* and a *glass* of *wine?*"

Bon Mot.—A number of noblemen and gentlemen of the law dining with the Lord Chancellor on Thursday last, to congratulate him on his recovery, one of them jocularly observed, "That he was very near losing the *Seals.*" "Very true, Sir," says the other; "and that would be rather hard too before I had made an *impression.*"

The three vacant Garters were given to the Earls of Suffolk and Rochford and Lord Weymouth.

The King put an end to the session by a speech, in which he declared he had done everything in his power to maintain peace; and if unjustly attacked, appealed to the world for not being the aggressor, and should trust to the bravery and resources of his subjects.

THUS ENDED THAT DISGRACEFUL SESSION!

5*th*. The City had an audience of the King to desire Lord Chatham might be buried at St. Paul's. He an-

swered in the most dry and ungracious manner (though their address was remarkably decent and respectful both to his Majesty and the House of Commons), that he had complied with all the requests of the Commons, and that everything was prepared in consequence—he meant at Westminster.

The same day an account arrived of the Toulon squadron having passed the Straits and taken a course, as the captain of a sloop that had followed them thought, for the West Indies. Admiral Byron was despatched after them.

9*th*. Lord Chatham was buried at Westminster. Not one of the Court attended the funeral but Lord Townshend and Lord Amherst. Thus the Court made its behaviour completely ridiculous, by showing, after showering such honours and rewards on him and his family, how much it had acted against its inclination.

10*th*. Account from Philadelphia of a detachment having destroyed forty-four American vessels in the Delaware.

16*th*. General Burgoyne published his two speeches made in the House of Commons in his own defence.

25*th*. An account arrived that Admiral Keppel lying near Brest, three French frigates entered amongst his fleet, on which he ordered them to retire; one of them, the Belle Poule, fired at a frigate of his, and they fought long, when both suffered: the Belle Poule had forty killed and fifty wounded and then retired. The Licorne, a small one, being so near Lord Longford, he summoned her to yield; but she fired, killed four of his men and then struck, and was sent into Portsmouth. This seemed a direct intention of beginning the war, and as if they had intended to provoke Keppel to begin it. The Ministers grew much alarmed, and were said to have intelligence that D'Estaing's

fleet was coming back, and a list of officers named for a descent, among whom were Du Chatelet and De Guines, two late ambassadors here, as best acquainted with the country. The want of money was universally felt and complained of. In Ireland the Government had given 7 per cent. for money. Yet the Dutch had just placed three millions into our funds; and it was said Spain was disarming her fleet, at least had dismissed her pilots. A negotiation for a Northern alliance was going on with Russia and Prussia, and the latter had recommended our courting Denmark.

When Mr. Berkeley, Lord Berkeley's brother, arrived from Admiral Keppel with an account of the engagement, he *found neither Lord Sandwich, nor Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, in town!* The Duke of Gloucester told me the next thing I should hear would be that Keppel was returned to Portsmouth, as he had orders to do, after looking into Brest. Lord Hertford dropped to me the next day *that Keppel had not been backward.* I thence concluded that the Court meant to blame him; and two days after, Lord Dudley, Lord Sandwich's friend, asked me if I had seen the 'Gazette.' I said, "No." He said, with a sneer, "he says *he hopes* he has not acted wrong." The next thing I heard was that Keppel was to be recalled, that the King had been two days before he saw Mr. Berkeley, that there was great consternation, that Lord Sandwich was gone post to Portsmouth, and that the Court said Keppel was returned because he was too weak; though, from what the Duke told me, I saw it was according to his orders, for he was actually come back. This showed they had given him obscure orders, and were now afraid of the war, and would sacrifice him.

The Bill in favour of the Roman Catholics was thrown out in Ireland by three voices.[1]

There was an universal alarm in the City on the return of Keppel. Nobody would ensure at any price.

The Court received intelligence that great preparations of transports were making in the Ports of France, and that 40,000 men more were marched to their coasts. They were also sending great supplies to America, whither they had heard their fleet was got safe. It was also said that our Commissioners would be received there with the greatest contempt.

JULY.

1*st*. WILKES, having again stood against Hopkins for the Chamberlain's place, had but a small number of hands, yet demanded a poll, which finished this day, when Hopkins had 1216 votes, and Wilkes but 289.

2*nd*. Sir William Howe arrived. It was very uncertain how he would be received, but he had an audience of the King on the 3rd, and was received favourably. He brought an account of the army under Clinton having abandoned Philadelphia for want of provisions, and being suffered to march to New York through the Jerseys without molestation, on a compromise of his not destroying Philadelphia.

The Ministers were under the greatest apprehensions for

[1] It afterwards did pass; but the party against it coupled with it a clause to take off the test in favour of the Dissenters, and thus the bill came over.

the West and East India fleets, now expected home, and reckoned worth four millions. They knew the French frigates were out since Keppel's retreat to intercept them; and, on the 3rd, the West India Merchants waited on Lord North to press the re-sailing of Keppel to save their fleet.

6th. The West India and Jamaica fleets arrived. It was very astonishing that France had not endeavoured to intercept them; not only for the great blow it would have been to our trade, but as out of them the Government got 1300 sailors to man more men-of-war.

10th. Admiral Keppel sailed again with twenty-six or twenty-seven men-of-the-line. The Ministers thought the Brest squadron was sailed; but it was not certain. The Ministers learnt that one reason for that fleet not having come out when Keppel, with only twenty men-of-war, was before Brest, and they were so superior, was, that they did not know Byron was sailed after D'Estaing to America, but thought he might be after Keppel.

It was confidently said here that Sartine was almost the only French Minister for war, and that the Queen supported him in hopes of bringing out the Duke de Choiseul: that M. de Maurepas was jealous of Sartine and against war, and talked of retiring if it was declared; and that Necker said he could not furnish supplies for it for above six months. Spain certainly gave the most pacific assurances.

The Great Duchess told Mrs. Ann Pitt, at Florence, that her father had written to her that he condemned the protection France gave to the Americans, and that he would not join in it. In fact, on the

13th, Almadovar, his new Ambassador, arrived in London.

It was said that General Burgoyne, being ordered by the King to return to America, as soon as he had been at Bath, replied he would consider of it.

17*th.* A merchant in the City received an express from France that the Brest fleet was sailed, twenty-eight men-of-the-line, with orders to burn, sink, and destroy.

The same day it was said that Admiral Keppel was put into Plymouth, and had sent to demand three more ships-of-the-line, to enable him to meet the French.

These two notices were immediately stuck up at Lloyd's Coffee House, and stocks fell 3½ per cent.

19*th.* The Ministers received intelligence of war having been declared by France; but it was a mistake, occasioned by the *ordonnance* for privateers being read in some seaport towns.

22*nd.* Letters from Philadelphia. The Commissioners had arrived there three days after the army was gone, and were preparing to follow it. They had notified their arrival, and offers of our funding the American debts, to the Congress; but the Congress had not deigned to send them any answer. Lord Howe had refused to act as Commissioner; and Lord Carlisle and Governor Johnston had quarrelled. At the same time came an account of the Americans fitting out an expedition against Florida. Johnston wrote that he would impeach the Ministers.

26*th.* The Duke of Gloucester told me, that having been very uneasy at not being employed, he had as long ago as April tried every method with the King; that at first he had been told there would be no war with France, then not in Germany. That at last he had pushed to know if he was never to be employed, and had proposed a plan to the King which would interfere with nothing; but that the King had answered he had no occasion for his

service. Hurt at this cruelty, impatient of doing nothing at so important a moment, he had, on the 25th, sent Lord George Germaine to the King to ask leave to go as a volunteer to the King of Prussia. The King sent him this answer, that he was very glad his brother's health was so established, and had no objection, if his Royal Highness could obtain the King of Prussia's consent. The Duke owned to me that he was much disappointed, having expected to be refused; but he had taken his part like a man and was determined to go. He immediately sent for Count Malzahn and gave him a letter to the King of Prussia, which he read to me, and very sensible it was. He said that being desirous to serve his country, he knew he could learn the science of war nowhere so well as in his Majesty's army; and that as his brother had no objection, he asked leave to attend his Majesty as a volunteer.

I said, "Sir, it is a very handsome compliment; but I admire what your Royal Highness has *not* said as much as what you have: your silence on your reasons for not serving your own country speak those reasons sufficiently. But, Sir," added I, "you will not go. It is impossible, if the Ministers have a grain of sense, but they must see the indecency of forcing the first Prince of the blood to seek service abroad when his own country is in danger of being invaded; but, should they not have the honesty to remonstrate, still your Royal Highness will not go. The King will desire the King of Prussia to decline your offer; and, as they say an alliance is in agitation between England, Russia, and Prussia, the latter will be too complaisant to accept your Royal Highness if your brother dislikes it." The Duke said, if he did go, he would return immediately if this country was invaded. The Duchess said Lord Percy had asked to be employed, and on being refused had asked

the King's leave to go either into the Emperor's or the King of Prussia's army; on which a separate command had been found for him at home. I saw it was this precedent to which the Duke had trusted.

At the end of the month letters came that the Emperor had offered peace to the King of Prussia.

Quotation from Fletcher, in the 'General Advertiser.'

THE D—KE OF GL———R.

"If you condemn your brother
Only because he 's bounteous, great, and brave,
Know you condemn those virtues—own you want them.
Had you a thousand brothers such as he,
You ought to show you are above them all;
As daring to reward and cherish them
As bucklers of your crown in time of war,
And in soft peace the jewels that adorn it."

For the 'General Advertiser,' &c.

ON THE LATE DAVID HUME'S PENSION BEING GRANTED TO THE WRITER OF THE 'MORNING POST.'

EPIGRAM.

"When Dryden's laurel to MacFlecno came,
Minerva hung her head with conscious shame;
But soon the rising glories of that reign,
And Marlbro's arms, fir'd all her tuneful train.
See David's meed to paltry B—— descend!
Fame sounds her trumpet at the nether end.
The meed of wit and learning, taste and sense,
Rewards low ribbald lies and impudence!
Pallas herself, turn'd satyr, laughs outright:
'*Battles* like thine great *George Germaine* may *fight*;
Triumphs like thine dull Parson, B—— may *write*!'"

For the 'Public Advertiser.'

THE 'OLD WOMAN OF SYRACUSE,' A SCRAP OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

"By all but courtiers vile abhorr'd,
On Syracusa's throne
The younger Dionysius sat,
And rul'd by fear alone.

"Yet, by his death, though all men wish'd
Heaven would them freedom give;
Still one old dame, for all they said,
Still pray'd that he might live!

"Strange was the prayer, and (as strange news
Is swift in its career)
It was not long before the tale
Had reach'd the tyrant's ear.

"Surpris'd to find he had a friend
(Conscious to none he'd claim),
He for the old woman sent to Court,
And thus bespoke the dame:—

"'How comes it thou, and only thou,
Should'st wish my life to last;
When all pray thunders on my head,
All hope to see the blast?'

"'With tyrants long' (the matron said)
'This isle has been oppress;
And oft I've wish'd them tumbled down,
To give my country rest.

"'Thus oft I've pray'd, as oft the Fates
Have out of pity will'd it;
But when I'd pray'd one from the throne,
A tyrant worse still fill'd it.

"'Now fervently for thee I pray,
Through fear of greater evil;
For if a worse than thou should come,
He sure must be the Devil.'"—M(ASO)N.

AUGUST.

1*st*. Admiral Keppel's Captain, Captain Falkener, arrived at the Admiralty with an account of the Admiral having come up, on the 27th July, with the centre and rear of the French fleet, on which the French fired, and a fight began with such ships as could come up. The French endeavoured to destroy the masts and rigging of the English, and did prevent many of the ships following the Admiral, and he ceased to fire in hopes of their forming and give him fair battle; but in the night, the whole French fleet went off, and got into Brest; and, it was said, had deceived Keppel by leaving the lights of the Admiral's ship on board a frigate. One French ship was seen to be towed away. No English officer was killed, and only 133 private men, and 373 wounded. Lord Richard Cavendish, brother of the Duke of Devonshire, had gone a volunteer with his friend Captain Walsingham, and was on deck of Keppel's ship the whole time. Keppel had suffered so much in masts, rigging, &c., that he brought the fleet back to Plymouth.

The Court affected to be greatly disappointed at not having gained a complete victory, in order to blame Keppel. It was evident the French had orders not to risk a battle.

Accounts of Admiral Byron's fleet being dispersed by a storm.

It was also said that the Canadians had sent a Deputation to the Congress to propose union.

7th. Account of the arrival at Portsmouth of eleven East Indiamen, for which there had been great apprehensions. Keppel had sent five ships to meet them, on hearing the French had despatched six to intercept them. Thus had all the fleets come in, reckoned worth four millions.

The French affected to call the engagement a victory for them, and asserted Keppel had retired, though they owned having lost above 1200 men.

11th. Were published in our papers, from those of the Americans, the negotiations of the Commissioners with the Congress. The most remarkable points were, the unwarrantable offers of admitting them to Parliament, and offering to pay their debts—*both without the authority of Parliament.* On their side, their offering us the alternative of acknowledging their independence or of withdrawing our troops. The language of Governor Johnston to the President Laurens, in which he talks of Britain *in the hour of her insolence*, was the most indecent phrase to be used towards enemies of his own country, which he represented as its negotiator, that ever was heard of.

For the 'Public Advertiser,' August, 1778.

EXTEMPORE, ON THE FRENCH BUYING UP ENGLISH HORSES.

"We are told that the Monsieurs our horses import,
And regardless we are of what passes;
But, Lord! what a racket 'twould make in our Court,
If they kindly would purchase *our asses!*"

The Roman Catholic Bill, without the clause in favour of the Dissenters, was carried by the Court in the Irish Parliament by a majority of thirty—by the lateness of the season and the absence of many members.

The Brest fleet was said to be again sailed.

The Duke of Ancaster died.[1] The King offered his place of Master-of-the-Horse to the Earl of Exeter.

It was whispered that Sir Hugh Palliser, who behaved very bravely at first in the late sea-fight, had afterwards not obeyed Admiral Keppel's signal for advancing. As Palliser was Lord Sandwich's creature, he was suspected of having acted by the Earl's order, who hated Keppel for having complained to the King of the bad condition of the fleet. It was said that Keppel and Palliser quarrelled on this at Plymouth, which might happen, as Keppel was much insulted by the mob there, as supposed at the instigation of the creatures of the Court, which might provoke him to tell what he had at first suppressed.

Mr. Thomas Walpole told me that Lady Chatham hearing that Samuel Martin went about showing a pretended letter from her late Lord to Lord Bute, proposing union with him, was very angry, and wrote to Lord Bute to insist on his disavowing any such letter, or she would publish all the papers in her hands to prove that just the reverse was true, and that Lord Bute had been the proposer. She sent the draught of her letter to Lord Camden, desiring him to correct it, which he did. Lord Bute sent but an evasive answer.

23*rd*. Colonel Patterson arrived from New York with an account that Sir Henry Clinton, in his march from the Jerseys to New York, had been attacked by Washington and twice beaten back, but at last had forced his way, and was got thither. They owned having lost but 380 men, though many had dropped down dead in the field from the excessive heat. Washington had suffered from the

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[1] Peregrine, the third Duke, whose second wife is described in Walpole's letter to Mann, July 9, 1779, as "natural daughter of Panton, a disreputable horse-jockey of Newmarket." —D.

same cause, and probably had not been well seconded, for he tried General Lee by a court-martial; who, however, was acquitted. Clinton probably lost many more, as he had been in the greatest want of water, had no hospitals, and had a long march to New York after the action.

When they arrived there they found Lord Howe blocked up in the port by Mons. D'Estaing, and provisions in the town for only nine weeks, so that, unless they could be relieved, both the army and the fleet were likely to be starved into a surrender.

24*th*. News came that Admiral Byron, with three of his ships, had been met within 150 leagues of New York. The Court immediately gave out that he had ten ships with him.

Sir Edward Newnham, in Ireland, wrote a strong letter to the Dissenters against the Roman Catholic Bill, and it was printed; as was a short speech of the Earl of Ely, who said he would vote against the Bill, though he expected to be murdered as he went home.

Captain Brereton, who with two other Captains had been reproached for having been backward in the late sea-fight, demanded a court-martial, was found guilty, and was broken. He had once before been suspected of cowardice. The duel between Keppel and Palliser was not true, but the latter was strongly suspected of having betrayed the Admiral. It was now certainly known that Keppel's true reason for not renewing the fight was the great damage the fleet had received in the rigging. Both fleets were now again at sea.

SEPTEMBER.

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2nd. THE Duke of Gloucester received a very civil answer from the King of Prussia, who excused himself from receiving the Duke, on the lateness of the season and the danger of it to the Duke's health, but hoping to see his Royal Highness some other time.

13th. The Lisbon and Jamaica fleets arrived; thus all the trade was come home safe, having almost miraculously escaped so many enemies. Sir Guy Carleton arrived too.

Letters from Lord Howe that D'Estaing, either from want of water or from not being able to enter the harbour of New York, was sailed to the South, it was supposed to attack Rhode Island. Lord Howe, having been joined by one of Byron's squadron, was gone with that and seven others after D'Estaing, but it was thought with too small a force. It was said that Sir P. Parker, with six of Byron's, was seen very near New York.

Alderman Oliver, having been thought of for next Lord Mayor, published a letter declaring he should decline it, as he was going to the West Indies, where his property lay, and which he thought in great danger, and should quit Parliament too.

A great mutiny at Edinburgh on one of the new regiments thinking they were to be sent to India.

28th. The King and Queen went to the camp at Winchester, but did not carry the Prince of Wales. Sir William Howe attended the King, though he had so little cause to display himself on such an occasion.

OCTOBER.

ACCOUNT of the Brest fleet having returned thither.

Account of D'Estaing's attempting Rhode Island and Sir H. Clinton succouring it, and of Lord Howe's coming up, and a great storm separating the two fleets as going to engage. Also that the Congress had stigmatized Governor Johnston on his attempting to bribe one of the Members, and of his throwing up his commission on that occasion.

16*th*. Lady Chatham published Lord Bute's negotiation with her Lord by the intervention of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, on Lord Bute's having employed Samuel Martin to show a letter which imputed overtures to Lord Chatham.

The French trade greatly distressed by our numerous captures.

19*th*. The King visited the camp at Warley Common, and lodged at *Lord Petre's*.[1]

I was very ill to the end of the year, and therefore the notes may be very imperfectly and incorrectly taken, as they were written afterwards from memory.

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[1] "Thou art Peter; and on this rock I will found my Church."

NOVEMBER.

Lord Mountstewart published a letter in the papers, asserting upon his honour that his father, Lord Bute, had assured him he had had no thoughts of coming into place again, and declaring that he himself would answer no questions. It was remarkable that Lord Bute, in Dr. Addington's narrative, had said he had approved all of Lord Chatham's speech the first day of the last session but his motion for recalling the troops from America, and yet it was the very day in which his son had threatened to move for the same recall of the troops!

Mr. W. Pitt, Lord Chatham's second son, answered Lord Mountstewart's letter in the papers too, but very civilly. Lord Chatham's family went no farther, and did not even state the provocation given by Martin's letter, nor the subsequent offers from Lord North by Eden; nor did they reply to a sophistic reply published in the name of Sir James Wright, and written by Dr. Luid, who let out his pen to men of any party or principles. This cautious reserve in the family of Pitt made many persons think Lord Bute had the better in the dispute, though he had so much exposed himself, especially by having said, in his intercourse with Dr. Addington, that the two men the King hated the most were him (Lord Bute) and Lord Chatham. I believe so, for the Duke of Gloucester has told me that the King hated Lord Bute even before his accession, though he gave him so much power at first by the influence of the Princess, his mother. Queen Anne

acted the same part with the Duchess of Marlborough, who had lost her heart many years before it appeared; the Duchess knew it, but concealed it from her husband and Lord Godolphin. The Duke of Gloucester told me, too, that he and his brothers and his sisters had observed the same, and had heard the King express dislike of Lord Bute early, when they were so young that the King was unguarded before them. The Duke told me that, not long before his own rupture with his brother, the King had said to him of Lord Bute, "The fellow has twice gone abroad and returned without kissing my hand;" and the Duke did not believe that Lord Bute ever saw the King in private. Lord Bute's negotiation with Lord Chatham was probably from impatience of power, and he was probably fool enough to think that he and Lord Chatham could awe the King into making them Ministers. It was pity the Chatham family did not publish the account of the message by Eden, which did look as if the King countenanced Lord Bute; and his Majesty was so false, that he might express dislike of Lord Bute, and yet keep up connections with him.

The Duke of Gloucester gave me an instance how little the King loved even the Princess his mother. When Doctor Musgrave charged her in the House of Commons with having taken money from France for the peace of Paris, she begged the King to save her from that disgrace, and he did not mind her. She then with tears sent the Duke of Gloucester to the King, to beseech him to interpose and prevent that insult. The Duke went; the King with the utmost indifference said, "*I* bear such things, and *she* must bear them!"

About this time became known a quarrel at Court, which had happened the last month, and which had nothing

to do with politics. The Duchess of Argyll, and widow of Duke Hamilton, had long aimed at being the King's mistress; but I believe never was so, though she had got great weight with him, and obtained an English barony for herself, and another for her son, Duke Hamilton. The Queen had early been jealous of her, and had used her so ill that she had thought of resigning; but the Duke loved money better than her, and was not jealous. Whether as the Duchess grew old and lost her beauty, or whether, to disguise her own jealousy, the Queen had made her a sort of favourite; but the Duchess was grown so insolent, and behaved so familiarly with the King, even at chapel, and behind the Queen's chair, that the latter was determined to affront her; and when she was to go to Warley Camp with the King, and it was the Duchess's turn to wait, the Queen said she would have Lady Egremont go. The Duchess was so angry, that she went home and told the Duke she would write and resign. The Duke, the most cautious and interested of men, said she might resign, but he would dictate the letter. He did, but the Duchess added in a postscript, "Though *I* write the letter, the Duke dictated it." The Queen in return bade her consider on it; she did, and kept her place. The fortune of this woman was so extraordinary that I have often thought it worth mentioning. Another instance of her insolence will appear in the next month.

This month came an account of the French having taken the island of Dominica.

Governor Johnston arrived from America.

A singular trial in the King's Bench. Lord Sandwich, as first Lord of the Admiralty, had placed several Huntingdonshire voters, instead of decayed seamen, in Greenwich Hospital, and appointed another of those voters

contractor for the seamen's allowance, which man gave them exceedingly bad bread, &c., which they could not eat. Baillie, the Deputy-Governor, complained heavily, and Lord Sandwich could not stop his mouth. The Earl spoke to Lord Bute, who had appointed Baillie Deputy-Governor; and Lord Bute did, or pretended to, reprove Baillie, who said he knew he should lose his place, but he would not see the poor men starved. Baillie, finding no redress, printed a pamphlet on the case, and sent it only to the Trustees, but did not publish it. Lord Sandwich on this superseded Baillie, and instigated some accused in that publication to prosecute him for a libel; Lord Sandwich having previously retained all the great Counsel in England but Dunning, whom Baillie retained, and another Counsel, and one Erskine, a young Scot,[1] who had been recommended to Lord Sandwich and rejected by him as never having pleaded at the bar. He was brother of the Earl of Buchan, had been a soldier, and was a Whig—was very poor, and, having a wife and children, had taken to the law. The other Counsel, I forget his name, opened the case severely on Lord Sandwich; and then Erskine spoke with still more bitterness, and with more abilities and success than had ever been known on a first pleading. Lord Mansfield interrupted him, and told him Lord Sandwich was not implicated in the cause. Erskine replied, but he intended to make him concerned in it, and went on with greater asperity, and so ably that Dunning had nothing left to say, and Baillie carried his cause. There were two remarkable depositions—one of Lord Sandwich having used most unwarrantable threats to one whom he suspected of favouring Baillie; the other, of a clergyman,

[1] Afterwards Lord Chancellor. Dunning was retained on the other side; Bearcroft, Peckham, Murphy, and Hargrave were with Erskine.—D.

attached to Lord Sandwich, who, preaching at Greenwich, had drawn a parallel between Jesus Christ and Lord Sandwich, and given the preference to the latter! Lord Bute pretended to discard Baillie, but I rather suspect he had encouraged him. My reasons are these:—After the trial, Lord Mountstewart said to the Duke of Bolton, a known enemy of Lord Sandwich, "My Lord, I hope we shall be able to do something for poor Baillie." Besides, the Butes hated Lord Sandwich: he had paid assiduous court for many years to old Wortley Montagu, Lady Bute's father, as his nearest male relation—Montagu being at variance with his son—in hopes of getting his estate, or part of it. The cunning old miser accepted his court, but left him nothing but their ancestor Admiral Sandwich's MSS. Just at this time, too, there was another contest between Lady Bute and Lord Sandwich. Her brother had left a natural son, who, being cast away, this summer returning from India, had left ten thousand pounds to a friend, who happened to be dead before him, and so the legacy, as a bastard's, fell to the King. In those cases the Crown generally gives the lapsed fortune to some near relation of the person, and Lord Sandwich immediately begged it, but Lady Bute had now just put in her claim.

Before the Parliament met, the Ministers were alarmed with apprehensions of defection in their troops;[2] and no doubt, if miscarriages in all their measures could occasion discontent, there was full room. Some of the country gentlemen had threatened to leave them, particularly the Grosvenors and Sir Laurence Dundas; but Lord Grosvenor was a dirty wretch, and Sir Laurence's motive was not better—the hopes of a peerage with which he had long been

[2] In Parliament.

flattered, or flattered himself. He contented himself with absence, and the Grosvenors did not go off. However, Lord North called a private meeting of leading Members to consult on procuring attendance. He himself was there severely handled by Lord George Germaine, Wedderburn, and Rigby, who charged his negligence and laziness with the chief blame; however, all agreed to summon and watch their friends: and, not content with the common Treasury letters, Lord North issued a second batch signed by himself, earnestly pressing attendance. It is probable that he had better intelligence, and apprehended some defection of the Scotch, who, whether thinking the Administration could not stand so many shocks and disgraces, or whether instigated by Wedderburn to resent his late miscarriage of the Seals and Peerage,—certain it is, that of the forty-four Scottish Members but eleven appeared the first day, though different reasons were given for their absence. The Lord Advocate Dundas was said to be detained by the misfortune of having caught his wife in adultery, and Lord Frederic Campbell was pretended to be busy with his militia; but Wedderburn's own behaviour was still more suspicious. The first day of the Session he declared himself independent and unconnected with any of the Ministers; but as the majority stood firm, the treachery went no farther.

The day before the Parliament, was published a pamphlet that made much noise and was greatly tasted. It was called 'Anticipation,' and pretended to be the summary of what would be said by the chief speakers in the House of Commons on the next day—most of whose styles it had caught very happily, at least, their defects. It pretended to great impartiality; but, though some of the Court were not spared, and Charles Fox exceedingly commended, it

was clearly meant to expose the Opposition; and Lord North was the hero—his capital defect,[3] buffoonery, being totally omitted. Indeed, the work had been composed in the house of, and was instigated by, his secretary, Bromhill, with whom Tickell, the author, lived. Tickell was grandson of the friend of Addison, and had been intimate at school with Lord Granby, who, having abandoned him, was a principal object of his satire. Colonel Barré, who had not seen the pamphlet, fell into the very error it ridiculed, his citing considerable foreigners with whom he was acquainted. Welbore Ellis, another justly and humourously drawn, proved how justly. He said, "It is well written, but I perceive the author takes me for a dull man."

26*th*. The Parliament met. The King's Speech was a very tame one. The Address in the Lords was moved by the Duke of Chandos and Lord Plymouth, and warmly opposed by Lord Coventry, Lord Bristol, and Lord Derby. The second mentioned the necessity of inquiry into the late naval engagement with the French off Ushant, as he said Admiral Keppel had declared he would never serve again with Sir Hugh Palliser. Lord Derby was allowed to have spoken very well, though he was a very raw, light young man, given up to his pleasures. He had been a warm Courtier, but was now as warm in Opposition, resenting the treatment of General Burgoyne, who had married his aunt and governed him. He owned he had been for the American war, but now saw the impracticability of carrying it on. Lord Suffolk, who seldom opened

[3] The drollery of the pamphlet was congenial with the patron: a very unprosperous and disgraceful civil war, just heightened by a bloody proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, and accompanied by a war with France, was not a very decent moment for joking!

his mouth in public without blundering out something that hurt his own side, said he hoped the American war would be more successful now, as there would be a *new mode* of carrying it on. This expression was hotly taken up, and he was pressed to explain *the new mode*, and whether he did not allude to General Sir H. Clinton's rash and inhuman proclamation, threatening the Americans with fire and sword if they did not submit: rash it was, as the Royalists were so inferior; and inhuman, as he was told, as it would certainly be retaliated, not only by the Americans, but would probably occasion the French, if they should land in this island or Ireland, laying waste and burning houses on our long line of defenceless coasts. The Americans did actually, in a fine manifesto, declare they would take similar steps. Lord Suffolk would neither explain what he meant nor disavow his approbation of the merciless manifesto; which Lord North was forced afterwards to disclaim in the House of Commons as a Ministerial measure, and as not intended in the sense put upon it —though his denial was to no purpose, as the words of the manifesto speak themselves: they were, which was sufficient, understood in the worst sense by the Americans, and were soon afterwards upheld by the Ministers themselves and their Parliamentary majority. Lord Shelburne made so severe and fine a speech against the Administration that many strangers in the House were hurried into the emotion of applauding it by exclamations and beating with their canes on the floor. This offended the Courtiers, and they were ordered to be turned out. Lord Shelburne was particularly bitter on Lord North's late grant of the Cinque Ports, and said that honour and emoluments, which were formerly rewards for services, were now the palliatives of disgrace. If a Minister loses an island, he gets a

blue riband—if one town is evacuated, a sinecure—if another, a better; and he concluded lamenting that the King, who had so numerous an issue, and could formerly have given them such rich appanages, had now lost as many provinces as he had children. The Address was voted by 76 to 31.

In the Commons T. Townshend moved an amendment to the Address, and Charles Fox condemned it in one of his very best orations; he said it was false, for it called the powers of the Commissioners the Act of Parliament, though the Parliament had never seen their Commission. Sir John Wrottesley, nephew of Earl Gower, and just returned from America, where he had been a zealous officer, now declared the impracticability of reconquering that country. This was very unpleasant to the Court, though, as he was a vain, empty young man, he could only wound them by that declaration. On being ordered to his post soon afterwards, he complained of it on a following day, and said it was done as a punishment for his opposition, which the Ministers denied.

It had been generally expected that much confusion would happen on the very first day of the Session, by disputes between the Generals, Admirals, Ministers, and Commissioners. It was doubted whether Burgoyne would not complain of General Howe for not assisting him; whether the Howes would not attack Lord George Germaine, to whom they avowed inveteracy; whether Governor Johnston would not attack the Howes, as he had raised a ferment against them in the City; and whether Keppel and Palliser would not accuse each other: but little or nothing of this happened the first day. Governor Johnston made a strange, unintelligible speech (it was impossible for him to make a clear one without condemning himself);

he endeavoured to wipe off his attempt to bribe some of the Congress, yet owned as much as he denied, condemned and approved the march to Philadelphia, and rather insinuated blame on Keppel than on anybody else. He was soon after called upon in several newspapers to say, whether he did not still retain his pay of Commissioner, though he had so long quitted the office. He made no answer—consequently was by that sinecure retained by the Court. Lord North answered Charles Fox, but very poorly, and in every debate before Christmas was allowed to have shown no abilities—whether his indolence or his dissatisfaction increased. The House sat till past two, when the Address was carried by 226 to 107.

On the report of the Address, the opposition to it was renewed. Adam, the Scot (who often attacked the Court, though, as was suspected, either by direction to get into the councils of the opponents, or instigated to vent particular discontents of Lord Bute, Lord Mansfield, or some of his countrymen against Lord North, and now probably in concert with his countrymen, who, as I have said, acted a very suspicious part at the beginning of this Session), declared against the possibility of carrying on two wars and defending ourselves, of which he had been convinced this summer by seeing 400 banditti keep 50,000 people in awe and alarm (this alluded to a tumult at Edinburgh). Charles Fox, a warm friend of General Burgoyne, had intended to fall heavily on Lord George Germaine, who happening not to be come into the House, Fox turned his artillery against Lord North, and uttered one of the most severe philippics ever pronounced, on his accumulation of places, heaped on him in proportion to his miscarriages.[4]

[4] The attack on Lord North by Charles Fox on the other side was not very grateful. About a year or more before, Fox, from the extreme distress

Lord North was so affected by that attack that he shed tears (as he had twice done at the outset of his Ministry, though till this winter he had more successfully exchanged the pathetic for buffoonery); he now made a most pitiful lamentation, and pleaded that every place had been the voluntary offer of his Gracious Royal Master, and in consideration of his numerous family.

Lord North was very ill-founded in pleading poverty: he had married a very great fortune—he was heir not only to his father, Lord Guildford's estate, which, though not large, was a moderate one, but to the Furnese estate, which Lord Guildford enjoyed from the gift of his third wife. Lord Guildford had first married the only daughter of the second Montagu Earl of Halifax, by his first wife, who was a good fortune from her mother, and by her had Lord North. His second wife was widow of Lord Lewisham, mother of the Earl of Dartmouth, and by her he had Bishop North and Lady Willoughby de Broke. For his third he married the second daughter of Sir Robert Furnese, and widow of Lewis Watson, Earl of Rockingham. This lady enjoyed Sir Robert's estate of 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* a year, as heiress to her brother Sir Henry, she being of the whole blood and by the same mother, whereas Sir Robert's eldest and youngest daughters were by his first and third wives, and Sir Henry and Lady Rockingham by the second. The eldest daughter, thus cut out by law, had been married to Viscount St. John, by whom she left the present Lord Bolingbroke, the real representative of Sir Robert Furnese, and Henry and John St.

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of his circumstances, had had a mind to go to India as Chief of the Council, and had sent to Lord North to ask if he would oppose it, but fairly declaring he should continue in Opposition if he did not go. Lord North replied that the first place was engaged, but should it lapse, Mr. Fox should have his interest, and he added, by a very handsome compliment, that he should be glad Mr. Fox went to India, whether he considered him as a friend or an enemy.

Johns. Lady Rockingham for some time after her first husband's death had continued unmarried, and had more than once refused Lord Guilford, and had bred up her youngest nephew, John St. John, as her heir; but at last she married Lord Guilford, and left her whole estate to him, and nothing to her nephews, the St. Johns, nor to a son and daughter of her younger sister, the first wife of Sir Edward Deering; nor, as Lord North was heir to both estates, was his own family large, he having but five children. His emoluments from the Crown would not have been thought so exorbitant, nor even,—if they had not been showered on him after repeated mismanagement, losses, and ill-successes,—beyond what had happened to any other Minister. They seemed extorted too, as, besides his inactivity, he was always affecting to desire to retire. And the King bribed him to stay for two reasons: the first, because he submitted to be only a cipher, and would carry through any measures the King or Junto suggested; the second, because the King had nobody to put in his place; for Jenkinson, the Minister *designatus*, could not be risked in so unprosperous a crisis, and the King feared that Lord North's resignation would blow up the whole Administration, which was but ill-cemented—hung together by their common fears, and of which North was by much the least unpopular and least obnoxious, not only to the nation, but to the King himself, who did not love Lord George Germaine or the Bedfords, and feared the intriguing spirit of the latter. The Chancellor, Lord Weymouth, and Rigby, who were a detachment of the Bedfords, and closely connected together, could not be agreeable, as the Chancellor had been forced upon him in preference to Wedderburn. Lord Sandwich was more welcome, but too decried, and Lord Suffolk, whom the King preferred to any of them, as a more tractable tool, was too incapable.

DECEMBER.

1*st*. HUGH, Duke of Northumberland, was appointed Master of the Horse; a ridiculous promotion: he was afflicted with the stone, and very lame with the gout, and at least sixty-five. In politics he had acted a very shuffling part; had, during Lord Bute's credit, married his eldest son to one of the Earl's daughters, but on its declension had encouraged their separation, and they were now suing her for adultery.[1] The Duke had then attached himself to the Earl of Chatham, and even since his death to within few weeks of his promotion had openly talked opposition in all companies; but had now asked and obtained the Mastership of the Horse, solicited by the Duke of Dorset and the Earl of Pembroke: the first got a pension of 2000*l*. a year, as was said, in lieu of it; and the Earl at Christmas declared to the King, that he must vote in all questions that were coming on, against Lord Sandwich. The Duke of Northumberland, in imitation of his wife's grandfather, Charles, the proud Duke of Somerset, intended not to use the King's liveries but when waiting on His Majesty; but the King insisted on his always using them.

About this time the Duke of Bridgewater, warmly connected with the Court by his relation to the Bedfords and

[1] The marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1779. Walpole does not seem to have been altogether "up" in this family history. The fifteen years' union had been childless; but the Earl (afterwards Duke) married one of lucky Peter Burrell's daughters, of which marriage the present Duke of Northumberland is the ninth and youngest child. —D.

Lord Gower, though he would accept of no employment, was nearly breaking and going into Opposition, as the India Company, to please the King and the Scots, were going to send Lord M'Leod, son of the attainted Earl of Cromartie, and who had quitted the Swedish service,[2] as Commander-in-Chief to India, over Egerton, a near relation of the Duke of Bridgewater: but the Duke, who hated the Scots, and was exceedingly obstinate, threatened to resign, and that himself, the Bishop of Durham, his cousin and expectant heir, and the rich Mr. Egerton of the House of Commons, would go into Opposition. Rigby was much alarmed, and negotiated with Lord Sandwich, who governed the East India Company, and, after some weeks, satisfaction was promised to the Duke.

A much more serious affair broke out at this season. The Treasury, to please Earl Powis, had appointed one Probert Surveyor of the Crown lands in Wales, and, to improve the revenue, intended he should look into the encroachments on the lands of the Royal domain. It was known that much greater encroachments had been made in that sequestered part of the island than in any other; consequently, the recovery would be the more sensibly felt. The first that took the alarm was the young Lord Viscount Bulkeley. He immediately published a very warm advertisement against what he called the tyrannic intentions of the Administration, with which hitherto he had most commonly acted. He went farther, and infused the same spirit into his countrymen, especially young Sir Watkin Williams,[3] a very opulent Baronet, and no less weak,

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[2] The King of Sweden sent his order to Lord M'Leod, and the King himself invested him with it.

[3] Whose father added the name of Wynn to his own, on succeeding to the estates of his great-great-grandfather (on the female side) Sir John Wynn.—D.

whose father had been the head of the Jacobites, and was called by them the Prince of Wales. The son[4] had married, first, the sister of the Duke of Beaufort, and then the eldest daughter of the late George Grenville, and had till now, like the other Jacobites, been devoted to the Court. He now flew off at once, and the Welsh proprietors held assemblies in London, and were determined to oppose the invasion of their property, however legal. In fact, it would scarce be possible for the Crown to carry their rights into execution in that country, where there was no police, and where the great families, though they did not exercise it as arbitrarily, had as much weight with their dependants as the chieftains in Scotland. The extravagance of the Court in corruptions, and the enormous expense of the American war, had driven Lord North on this imprudent measure to recruit the Exchequer, to which he had probably been drawn, with his usual negligence and inconsideration, by his brother-in-law, Colonel James Whitshed Keene,[5] a most absurd Irishman, who had great interest with him, and who had been brought into Parliament by Lord Powis's mother.

3rd. Broke out an affair which had still worse consequences for the Administration. Their turbulent opponent, Temple Luttrell, brother of the Duchess of Cumberland, attacked the Admiralty on a supposed embezzlement of 300,000*l.*, a charge he afterwards published with his name in the papers, and in more abusive terms again, but without his name, and for which, in the following February, as will be mentioned in its place, he endeavoured to draw on himself the censure of the House of Lords. In

[4] The fourth baronet. His first wife, Henrietta, died in little more than three months after their marriage. The second wife, Charlotte, daughter of George Grenville, was also sister of the first Marquis of Buckingham.—D.

[5] Mrs. Keene was not properly sister of Lord North, but of the Earl of Dartmouth, her mother, Lady Lewisham, having, secondly, married Lord North's father, by whom she was mother of Bishop North.

the conclusion of his speech this day he drew the attention of the House to the Admiralty, who, he said, had pretended to have expected greater success from Admiral Keppel's engagement with the French off Ushant, July 27th, and which, in justice to that great commander, ought to be inquired into.

What he alluded to was this:—Captain Berkeley, brother of the Earl of that name, when he brought the news of that sea-fight, had whispered that Sir Hugh Palliser, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, had disobeyed the Admiral's orders of coming up to the French after the combat, and renewing it, which had prevented their total defeat: the Captains Brereton and Hood; and I think one other, had been abused in the papers for neglect of duty too. Brereton had certainly been guilty of drunkenness and had been broken. Palliser, on these rumours, had published a vindication of himself in the papers, not pleasing to Keppel, on which Keppel had said he would never serve with him again. Palliser, too, had drawn up a paper in his own justification, which he asked Keppel to sign, which he refused, saying it was not a true account. Keppel had openly declared that he would not serve with him any more.

Luttrell's speech called up Keppel, who said he had accused no one, but had had reason to be dissatisfied with Palliser's publication. Yet he had rather palliated faults than condemned them. He did justice to Palliser's bravery, but did not commend his subsequent conduct. Sir Hugh Palliser was much provoked, and complained of Keppel's insinuations. The latter denied he had made any, and was still tender of accusing the other, but maintained that Palliser had not obeyed his signals. The Admiralty agreed to give the papers demanded by

Luttrell, but the next day refused them, when very abusive language passed between Luttrell and Lord Mulgrave; but the House rescinded the preceding day's vote by 107 to 15.

4*th*. Lord Rockingham complained to the Lords of Sir Henry Clinton's proclamation for laying waste America with fire and sword. He had issued it in anger,—the Congress having very meanly broken the capitulation with Burgoyne and refused to release his army. But that was by no means a just excuse for so savage a declaration, and even so imprudent an one, as the King's army and friends were dwindled to so small a number; and which might incite the French to reprisals on our coasts, that are defenceless round both islands. Sir Henry Clinton was a brave, but hot and weak man. The Government affected to expect great things from him (to depreciate Howe and Burgoyne); but so far from answering their expectations, he grew angry at the detachments drawn from him for Carolina and for the West Indies, and threatened to come away if 15,000 recruits were not sent to him, which the Government had not to send. To palliate their inactivity, they boasted that Carolina and Georgia would revolt from the other colonies, and that there were great dissentients in the Congress.

The Chancellor endeavoured roughly to defeat Lord Rockingham's motion, by insisting that the proclamation could only come before them by Address to the King; but the Duke of Richmond brought precedents to the contrary, and it was ordered to be considered on the following Monday.

The Chancellor at the King's next levee said aloud, that the House of Lords did not know how to debate properly, but *he would bring them into better order*. After

Christmas he did attempt to dictate, but was foiled, and proved by Lord Camden and others to be very ignorant of order himself.

This is not said to depreciate Thurlow's abilities, but to display his arrogance and character. Naturally he was indolent, unambitious, and without conception of his own great powers. Early in life he was on the point of being steward to the Duke of Queensberry, on a salary of 300*l.* a year; and even when his reputation had pierced so far that it was thought necessary to prefer him to Wedderburn for Attorney-General, the Court intended it should not be for any length of time; and in less than a year had prevailed on him to accept the Chief Justiceship of Chester, in the room of Morton, who consented to retire on a pension: but Morton's wife governed him, and he owned would not let him resign his insignificant dignity.

Thurlow had a solid and deep understanding that penetrated to the marrow of an argument, and he did not think of escaping by its labyrinths, like Lord Mansfield. He did not dazzle, like Wedderburn, by an entertaining though pert brilliancy, nor fascinated his audience with the pathetic solemnity of Lord Camden. But such was Thurlow's sterling and nervous sense, that he shone most (as on the Duchess of Kingston's trial) when other orators seemed to have exhausted the subject, by divesting it of all foreign ornaments, and extracting the quintessence of truth, and placing it on its own bottom. The luminous and argumentative intuition of Charles Fox into every question could alone embarrass the dissecting ratiocination of Thurlow. The latter's was a manly soul that owed all its merit to vigorous nature, who had composed him of stern materials, that would neither bend before refinement, nor assimilate with the soft feelings of humanity. He was coarse in his

manners, indelicate in his pleasures even to a contempt of decorum, though at the head of the law—rough, proud, sullen, and perhaps intrepid. This quality was, however, doubtful. When challenged by Andrew Stuart on the Douglas cause, Lynch, his friend, had had difficulty of getting him into Hyde Park. After he was Chancellor he was so conscious of his want of deep knowledge in the law, and so afraid of seeing his decrees reversed, that it was difficult to make him finish a cause, to the great prejudice of suitors, and to the great confusion of his Court. He made a wretched figure as Chancellor, while the greatest in the House of Lords. Virtue and principles he had none,—he seemed to regard them as a weakness. Dark and daring, he was fitted to serve a bold and arbitrary Court, rather than to please a designing but irresolute one; and as ready to betray it, when it tottered from its own misconduct. In his early life he had seduced a young gentlewoman on promise of marriage, which he had been reluctant to perform; but the intrigue being blown by her falling in labour, with symptoms of the utmost danger, he declared himself ready to marry her; but though the legitimacy of her child was urged to her, she died protesting she would not marry so black a villain. He had strictly leagued himself with Lord Weymouth and Rigby, who yet had often difficulty to restrain his ferocious mind, whenever the King's pusillanimity or Lord North's irresolution faltered, or being opposed or unsuccessful. As both, Rigby especially, had far more knowledge of the world, as both wanted Thurlow's courage (for Lord Weymouth was an arrant dastard, and Rigby had no political firmness), and as both had still less political honour, they easily embarked Thurlow in a plot to sacrifice the other Ministers to the Opposition, to save their own places; but yet the treachery

did not take effect. Thurlow, though the Scottish Junto dispensed favours and honours, was yet too conscious of the abilities he had at last discovered in himself, and too haughty, to earn power by petty adulation: he had never stooped to the predominant notion. On the Douglas cause he had treated the shrewd Andrew Stuart with such insolence and obloquy that it occasioned a duel between them. He had marked aversion for Lord Mansfield, and was too brave not to be disgusted at his cowardice; and he despised and hated Wedderburn so thoroughly, that he would not accept the Seals and a peerage if the latter was bestowed on Wedderburn too. Thus he trampled on the King's partiality, and forced himself on his necessity—an arrogance his Majesty will remember if ever Thurlow is in a situation to want his favour more than he is wanted. It was said that he obtained the Seals at last by the difficulties the Court was in by General Burgoyne's arrival. In their distress they had recourse to Thurlow. He, in one night, went through all the papers that had passed between that officer and the Ministers; and then asked them where lay their strength and where their greatest weakness? and on their pointing out each, he made a speech against Burgoyne, which, after Wedderburn had attacked the General ridiculously, was thought a chef-d'œuvre of reasoning abilities.

The same day, the 4th, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, complained to the House of Commons of Sir H. Clinton's proclamation, and moved them to disavow it. He said he had reason to be alarmed at it, as his fine seat at Holkham was situated on an open, defenceless coast. He was seconded by Mr. Conolly, who made the same complaints for Ireland, and by Lord Derby's brother, Colonel Stanley (they both having joined the Opposition since Burgoyne's affair), and

by Mr. Powis, who said he did not believe the Royal army in America would execute such bloodthirsty measures. This drew up Sir W. Howe, who said he did not believe anything would induce the British army to mutiny: at the same time he owned such a proclamation would be very disagreeable to them. He then entered on his own case, and imputed his own desire of being recalled to Lord George Germaine, who had not co-operated with him, nor treated him with confidence, nor taken his recommendation of officers for preferment. Lord George Germaine answered him very ably, and, being as clear-headed as Howe was confused, turned the applause of the House against him, particularly on recommendations, of which he had received but three, two of which he had complied with, and the third was in favour of an officer notoriously unworthy. He justified the proclamation by examples, as did the Attorney-General. Burgoyne thrust himself into this altercation with his usual self-sufficiency and ill-success, condemned the proclamation, and endeavoured to prove that, in his own employment of Indians, he had taken great pains to prevent barbarity, though the measure could be calculated for nothing else. Burke made a fine speech, proving the proclamation means all it seemed to mean, and painting it in its true colours. After some other speeches the motion was rejected by 209 to 122. I think it was in this debate that Lord George Germaine asserted that the *king* "*was his own Minister*," which Charles Fox took up admirably, lamenting that His Majesty "was his own *unadvised* minister."

7th. Lord Rockingham made his intended motion for addressing the King to express the House's disapprobation of Sir H. Clinton's proclamation, and he particularly called on the Bench of Bishops to condemn so un-Chris-

tian a declaration. Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, expressed his horror at so inhuman a manifesto, which Lord Suffolk defended and owned he approved. Lord Derby, Lord Abingdon, and the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton spoke earnestly against the proclamation, and the latter arraigned the Ministers particularly for not having had notice of the treaty between France and America. Lord Stormont rose and justified himself well for having sent word of it in time—a charge that fell heavy on Lord Weymouth, who endeavoured but did not clear himself. Lord Gower, Lord Lyttelton, and the Chancellor defended the Ministers, and were answered by Lord Effingham, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Camden; but the motion was thrown out by 55 to 34. The most scandalous part was, that the two Archbishops, and the Bishops Hurd, Moore, and Ross, voted to uphold the proclamation. The Bishops Shipley and Hinchcliffe voted against it; Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, and Bishop Thomas of Rochester, and Bishop Yorke retired without voting—the rest were not present. The Congress published a sensible and manly answer to Clinton, in which they declared they would use reprisals. Thirty-one Lords entered a very strong protest on the motion against the proclamation being rejected.

But shocking as the conduct of the Court was on that occasion, and infamous as the behaviour of the Archbishops and some of the Bishops, the attention of the public was drawn off from both, and engrossed entirely by the consequences of the quarrel between the Admirals Keppel and Palliser. General Keppel, the brother of the former, who had commanded in one of the summer camps, had on the 7th resigned his employment on the staff, disgusted with the King's neglect, and total preference of Lord Amherst. Lord Amherst, lately set at the head of the

army, was now found out, and allowed to be, a man totally void of parts. His success in the last war in America, and the partiality of Lord Chatham, had formerly raised his character very high; but his immoderate self-interest and obstinacy (the latter of which proceeded from his extreme slowness of conception, and fear of changing his opinion on what he at last understood for another which he was conscious he should be as long in comprehending) had much sunk his reputation. He had gained the King's favour by the most servile deference, and, between flattery and dulness, he pleased nobody else. General Keppel was proud and passionate, and very free-spoken. He had particularly offended the King at dinner in the camp. His Majesty complained of the difficulty of recruiting. Keppel replied aloud, "It is owing to the Scots, who raise their clans in and about London." This was very true: the Master of Lovat had received a Royal gift of 6000*l.* to raise a regiment of his clan, and had literally picked up boys of fifteen in London and Westminster. The General's resignation had soured the King, and the Admiral's retort of the charge on Palliser had not less offended Lord Sandwich. Neither the Monarch nor the Marine Minister disliked a trick; and Lord Sandwich was never in his element so much as when he could surprise mankind by an artifice that, carrying business along with it, implied that few other men would have thought of, and few adopted, so unworthy a contrivance. Cunning he preferred to prudence; and though he had drawn so much infamy on his name by his treachery to Wilkes, he could not resist the impulse of attacking Keppel with the same arms. Resentment to the Duke of Richmond probably concurred. The Admiral was cousin-german and dear friend of the Duke, who had just threatened to lay the

Earl's transactions at Greenwich Hospital before the Peers. It was in vain that Sandwich and his friends, and the Ministers and their runners, protested that the scene that ensued had originated with, and been carried into execution solely by, Sir Hugh Palliser himself — the machinery spoke the nature of Sandwich. In the summer Jenkinson made a progress into the North of England. At the Archbishop's public dinner at York, in a promiscuous company, he condemned and declaimed against Keppel's behaviour at the engagement off Ushant. The whispers of the Court to Keppel's prejudice, the precipitation of the Admiralty, the indiscreet preferment of all Palliser's officers even in the height of the ferment, the vile plot on the log-books, which will be mentioned, and, above all, the art, address, and deliberation with which Palliser's charge was drawn up, demonstrate beyond contradiction that Sir Hugh was nothing but the tool and instrument of Lord Sandwich; and very striking circumstances came out that led mankind to suspect that this had not been the first occasion on which he had basely lent himself to sacrifice his friend to the treachery of his protector: in a word, as Sir Hugh Palliser's bravery was incontestable, his abandoning the Admiral in the fight off Ushant looked like a preconcerted design of ruining him. Keppel was in the Opposition, and unwelcome both to the King and the First Lord of the Admiralty. He had even complained to the King of the bad condition of the fleet, and several of his friends had blamed his acceptance of the command under such circumstances. He was first sent out with a very inferior force against the French fleet. Had he beaten it more effectually, he would have been dear to all parties, and might be thought fitter to preside at the Admiralty than a mere landsman. Palliser's desertion was paralleled

with Lord George Germaine's at the battle of Minden, when the shrewdest observers thought his non-compliance with orders flowed from malice to Prince Ferdinand, not from cowardice. But I am anticipating. It was in the evening of the

11*th*, that Admiral Keppel received notice from the Admiralty that Sir Hugh Palliser had but that very morning exhibited five capital articles of charge against him, and that the Board had in consequence ordered a court-martial on him.

The astonishment of mankind, who had heard enough to think that Sir Hugh Palliser ought, in vindication of his honour, to demand a court-martial on himself, or at least that the Government should order one on him, cannot be described, when they were told that Sir Hugh had impeached his friend, his patron, his saviour (Sir Charles Saunders had bequeathed 5000*l.* to Sir Hugh, leaving the rest of his fortune to Keppel, who had selected Palliser as one on whom he most depended in his present command). Honest old Admiral Campbell, hearing the news that night at the Admiralty, cried out, "The rascal! he knows Keppel has his head in his pocket!" It did appear on the subsequent trial that Keppel's letter to the Admiralty with the news of the engagement, which had been reckoned obscure and weak, had been dictated by his extreme tenderness and desire of saving Palliser.

Keppel's friends were not without anxiety. The prodigious influence of the Court, the unpopularity of the Opposition, the national discontent at the escape of the French fleet, and the confidence with which the Courtiers gave out that the lawyers were convinced that the Admiral would be found guilty, were reasonable causes of alarm. Keppel, however able an officer, was no genius, and he

had had a stroke of a palsy. A slur might sully his honour, though he should not be capitally condemned, and the ruinous state of his health might not be able to sustain the fatigue of the trial and the inquietude of his mind. His enemies might have made the same reflections; but the abominable practices on the log-books intimated that they did not mean to be content with disgracing him, but aimed at destroying him by the assistance of his bad health.

The intended court-martial was notified the next day to the House of Commons by Temple Luttrell, who prefaced it by moving for one on Sir Hugh Palliser, for disobedience of signals, and reflecting on the partiality of the Admiralty in not ordering one on Sir Hugh. The latter endeavoured to disculpate himself for bringing his accusation so late as near five months after the action, by pretending he had been unwilling to detain so many fleets as had been on the point of sailing, by retaining officers as witnesses; but could refrain no longer, after Keppel had declared he would serve with him no more. He urged too that Keppel's previous kindness absolved him from guilt, as the Admiral would not have treated him with regard had he thought him criminal. Lord Nugent deprecated the motion, and implored the House to interpose and heal the breach between the two Admirals; and he did not applaud the Admiralty for ordering the court-martial so inconsiderately. Admiral Lord Shuldham,[6] though attached to, and promoted by, Lord Sandwich, was warm in Keppel's praises, who, he said, was adored by all the officers and seamen in the fleet, and whose glory he was sure would come out more bright from the trial. General Conway was no less zealous in commendation of Keppel, and besought the House to address His Majesty to interpose and

[6] The first and last Lord of this title. He died 1796.—D.

reconcile the two Admirals, and not suffer the court-martial to sit, which might be productive of so many inconveniences and detriment. The Admiral himself then rose, and, with a mixture of pathetic modesty and sublime dignity, told the House, that, however sensible of the honour many gentlemen had done him, he could never consent, consistently with his reputation, that the trial should not proceed. The charge attacked both his life and his fame, and he must call for it to clear both, though he lamented the mischiefs it might occasion. "The Vice-Admiral entrenched himself within the kindness I have shown him—good God, sir!" said he, "intrusted as I was with the salvation of England against invasion, was that a moment to enter into his distrust of my sentiments? No, sir, no; I had no intention of throwing any blame on him; but when I saw his name to a letter in the 'Morning Post,' that tended to excite mutiny in the fleet, then I did think him to blame—then I did think he had accused himself—but I forbear and retire." These few sentences were uttered with so much majesty and grace, that the House melted into tears; even his friends, who expected no such powers, looked on him as inspired; and the least partial were ravished with the dignity of his action, and thought his low and but homely figure was shot up into heroic stature. Admiral Pigot, ill-disposed to the Court by the ill-treatment of his late brother, Lord Pigot, was still more lavish in encomiums on Keppel, and severely blamed the precipitation of the Admiralty. Lord Mulgrave defended that Board, and took the chief blame on himself. He insisted that the Admiralty had no power of suspending or denying a court-martial. General Collier and General Keppel urged that the method was very different in the Land Service; and the former said, if it was so in

the Sea Service, it ought to be altered. Charles Fox, a relation and friend of Keppel, said the Admiral would scorn recrimination; and therefore, lest it should have that look, he would move for the order of the day to supersede it. Sir Joseph Mawbey demanded of Sir Hugh if he had not been urged to his accusation by the First Lord of the Admiralty. He protested "By no means." The Attorney-General Wedderburn defended the conduct of the Admiralty, and maintained it was agreeable to the spirit of the law. Dunning sat out of his sight at a distance; but Wedderburn, suddenly eyeing him, started, and, though he had used the strongest affirmations, corrected himself, and said he only spoke his private opinion, and uninformed. Dunning, notwithstanding, rose, and confuted him in the most able speech he had ever made in that assembly. Sir W. Meredith produced a case of a Captain Clements, that he said refuted the plea of the Admiralty; but he was found to have totally misquoted or misrepresented the case, and was that day, and on two subsequent occasions when he revived it, brought to shame by Lord Mulgrave. The order of the day was called for, and the motion was dropped.

The Secretaryship-at-War was vacant: Lord Beauchamp, son of Lord Hertford, had been very desirous of the place, but, devoted as he and his father were to the Court, the King chose to keep the army entirely to himself, and trust nobody but one of the Junto under him. Cornwall, Jenkinson's brother-in-law, was the man supposed to be designed, but, being a younger Lord of the Treasury than Lord Beauchamp, could not decently be preferred to him. In that difficulty Jenkinson was selected. He was certainly intended for Chancellor of the Exchequer, could the King have got the better of Ame-

rica, and consequently of England. I believe Jenkinson was not only the most trusted of any man in England by the King, but, in concert with Lord Mansfield, the suggester of all arbitrary measures; for, however disposed, the King would not plan, much less digest and prepare, the steps and bills of all those measures.

On the 14*th*, then, Charles Jenkinson, lately appointed Secretary-at-War in the room of Lord Barrington, who retired on a pension of 2000*l.* a year, opened the state of the army, and specified an additional want of 14,000 men. In the course of his speech he stated the forces in our pay at *three hundred thousand men*, the greatest military establishment ever kept up in Europe, except by Louis XIV. at the period of his greatest power. It was not much to the honour of this country, with such an army, to have received nothing but disgraces; and it was ridiculous to hear more demanded of Parliament, as if 300,000 could not achieve all that 314,000 could!

These were all the material debates before Christmas, except on a bill, rapidly passed, to dispense with the law for confining the persons concerned in the court-martial on board ship during the whole trial. This suspension was demanded in consideration of Admiral Keppel's shattered health. It passed easily through the Commons; but in the Lords the new Chancellor uncandidly, though he did not venture openly, threw objections in the way—but it was passed there too; and then both Houses adjourned till after the holidays.

But before the year ended, the Court was stunned by a very unexpected blow, that gave them an antepast of the odium they were to incur by the persecution of Keppel. In fact, both the King and Lord Sandwich had been guided by passion only, and had by no means weighed or foreseen

the consequences of their rashness. Probably Sandwich had suggested and the King embraced the measure without consulting Lord Mansfield or Lord North; the timidity, nay, good sense, of the former, and the indolence of the latter, with his aversion to violent measures, though to his shame he would support them when fixed on by the King, would have represented against so indiscreet a step. Foolish it was in the King to the highest degree. His first view had permanently been to rivet to himself the affections of the army and navy, as the instruments by which he must at last maintain the despotism which he was to obtain by the servility of Parliaments. By this rash act he shook the affections of the navy, and awakened in them a spirit which His Majesty had little reason before to suspect yet lurked in any of the great professions. The senators were impudently corrupt, and prompt to accord whatever could be asked of them in return for their wages. The Church was prostituted to the most shameless pitch. The Bishops had voted for Popery and massacres, and the rest of the clergy panted for arbitrary power in the Crown, as a step towards re-establishment of their own tyranny. The country gentlemen were led by the clergy, and fools enough to expect to tyrannize over the inferior orders if the Crown was aggrandized, not having sense or knowledge enough to be sure of a most indubitable truth—viz., *that there is nowhere upon earth, in any arbitrary Government, such an order of beings as Independent Country Gentlemen.* The law, at least all of the profession that hoped preferment from the Court, were devoted to it, and knew that Lord Mansfield held the *feuille de bénéfices* in that line. The Dissenters, by the inflexibility of the Court and Bishops in not relaxing the penal statutes against them, and who, ever since the commencement of the American

war, had been stigmatised by the Tories as Republicans, could but know that they had nothing to expect but persecution if the King became arbitrary, were yet kept quiet by pensions to their chiefs, or desponded from the neglect of the Opposition; Sir George Saville himself having moved for toleration of the Papists, and Burke, a chief leader, having opposed indulgence to the Dissenters. The army's principles naturally led them to devotion to the Court, and the navy had hitherto not betrayed different sentiments: but as seamen, by the element they live on, are less exposed to the corruptions of the world, those simple men, on the persecution of Keppel, discovered a manly integrity that startled the Court, and revived some hopes in the friends of the constitution, that the genuine guardians of our country and liberty were not lost to all English sentiments. Nine Scottish Admirals and Captains took the honest side.

Yet, according to a maxim that from reading, experience, and reflection, I have long laid down to myself as a certain truth—viz., that *no great country was ever saved by honest men from arbitrary power*, because men of virtue will not go all the lengths that may be requisite to inspirit a party, —the first man that roused the navy on the attack on Keppel was by no means a patriot on principle. That man was Augustus John Hervey, Earl of Bristol, an Admiral of the fleet, in which service he had performed actions of extreme bravery, and on other occasions had had his courage called in question. He had no parts, and but a very confused understanding. During the life of his elder brother he had been Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, and a most servile and forward Courtier. He had also been a Lord of the Admiralty, and a prime favourite of Lord Sandwich; but on some disobligation, I

know not what, received from the latter, Lord Bristol was become his most personal enemy, and in the last session had furnished the Opposition with many lights into the defects of the navy, and into the faults of Sandwich's administration of it.

Lord Bristol seized with alacrity, and in this instance with shrewdness, the opportunity that Sandwich had thrown in his way; and, with the co-operation of another Admiral, then in Opposition[6] too (Henry Powlet, Duke of Bolton, a silly, brutal, proud man, yet whose valour was much more problematic than the Earl's), they prevailed on ten other Admirals and Commanders of the fleet to sign and present to the King a strong remonstrance against the conduct of the Admiralty in ordering the court-martial on Keppel. At the head of those marine heroes appeared the venerable name of Lord Hawke, the dear friend of Keppel, who had partaken in his immortal victories. With equal industry was propagated the reply of the good and infirm old man, to whom it being proposed to preside at the court-martial, he replied, that, were he able, he would sooner cut off his hand than be accessory to such a trial!

Lord Bristol took another step, of far less consequence, yet artful and disagreeable to the Court. He alarmed old Lord Vere, another Admiral and his friend, for his son-in-law, Lord Charles Spenser, brother of the Duke of Marlborough. Lord Bristol painted the odium incurred by the Admiralty, and told him that, as Lord Charles had for-

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[6] The last of the six Dukes of Bolton, and not so black as Walpole has described him. He died in 1794. Just 105 years previously, the eldest son of Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, who had married the daughter and heiress of Scrope of Bolton, was created Duke of the latter place. At the death of the childless Duke Henry, a large share of the Bolton property fell to the natural daughter of the fifth duke. A younger son of the northern family of Orde married this lady, took her name and estates, and for this or some other remarkable feat was raised to the rank of Baron Bolton.—D.

tunately happened not to be at the Board when the court-martial was ordered, he would do well to abstain from their subsequent proceedings. By these manœuvres, the Duke of Marlborough, who had often felt qualms on the measures of the Court, was induced to forbid Lord Charles to attend Parliament during the trial. The Earl of Pembroke too, instigated I believe by Lord Bristol, and soured by the refusal of the Mastership of the Horse (for conscience Lord Pembroke did not pretend to), asked an audience of the King, and told him, that, though his Majesty's servant (he was a Lord of the Bedchamber), he must beg leave to inform him that, on all the questions relative to Lord Sandwich that were likely to come on, he must take leave to vote against the Administration. These were but overtures to the mortifying scene that ensued.

I shall mention a few other events that happened towards the close of the year, and which I omitted in their proper places.

On the 19*th* arrived an account of the dispersion of Byron's fleet by a great storm.

Besides the Commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnston, and Eden, who were returned from America, Lord Cornwallis was also arrived. He too, who had been remarkably zealous and active, resigned his command in America. The reason was not alleged—it might be attachment to General Howe, of whom he had been a principal favourite.

Lord Carlisle, before he left that quarter of the world, had received a challenge from the Marquis de la Fayette, a young Frenchman of quality, married into the powerful family of Noailles, and who from enthusiasm for liberty had resorted to America, seemingly without the approbation of his Court, though certainly with its connivance, as at his

return he received only a short exile ten miles from Paris, and had been very active in the service of the Congress. This young adventurer had taken offence at expressions reproachful to his country in the proclamation of the Commissioners, and very absurdly had addressed himself to Lord Carlisle for satisfaction. The latter, in a very sensible letter, told him that he did not at all think it became him to answer for his conduct as a public minister to a private man; and that he thought the national quarrel would be best decided by Admiral Byron and Comte D'Estaing.

The West India merchants had long been under the utmost apprehensions for our islands. They had repeatedly applied to the Ministers for protection, which the Ministers had not been able to give them. The merchants had been often prompted to take warmer steps, but had been as often afraid of incensing the Ministers (a fear that did the latter no honour): many meetings had been held, and strong language recommended. As their desperation increased, a very warm remonstrance to the King had been drawn up, which, after, however, being a little softened, they did carry to St. James's. Yet, though so respectable a body of men, and so justly entitled to be treated at least with humanity and decency, the King received their Memorial only in the Guard Chamber as he returned from chapel, and gave it to the Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting without reading it, and with no more distinction than he gives to the petition of a begging gentlewoman that sues for a pension. Thus insulted, the Remonstrance was printed in the newspapers.

Towards the end of the year were printed two remarkable pamphlets, written by two Members of the House of Commons. The first, by Sir William Meredith,

and of which only a few copies were printed and given by him to his friends, was an answer to a book written by a Scotch clergyman, at the instigation of Lord Mansfield, to show that the free states of antiquity had taxed their own colonies. Sir William denied this, and, quoting the ancient historians, had the better of the argument, though he had made mistakes, and seemed too fond of showing learning that was new to himself. The best part was an indirect satire of Lord North under the character of Hanno, a Carthaginian leader.

The other, by David Hartley, was a recapitulation of all the efforts and deprecations of the Americans to avert the war, and of the unheard-of and unparalleled treatment of their petitions, offers, and remonstrances by the Ministerial majority in Parliament. The most striking part of all was the detection of the usage of signs-manual issued in the King's name for the government of the colonies, in which the author shows very ably the views of the Court, and that all tended to subject America, not to the pretended sovereignty of Parliament, but solely and absolutely to the Royal Prerogative. The last chapter is very weak, and proposes that the Americans, on proper concessions from Great Britain, should force France to absolve them from the contracted alliance between France and America. But the rest of the book must be, to every impartial man, a justification of the colonies; it shows that they were forced into rebellion by the most cruel treatment, and that nothing but passive submission to despotism would content the Crown. As the book is fairly drawn from public Acts and witnessed by the Journals of Parliament, it will be a faithful guide to future historians, for it is history already. Notwithstanding these passionate attempts, neither the Ministers nor the House chose to meddle with Mr. Hartley or his pamphlet.

1779.

JANUARY.

THE new year was ushered in by a violent tempest of wind, which began in the night precisely as the old year ended. Ancient historians would have regarded it, and the destruction of a considerable part of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich by fire the same day, as omens of political storms. The folly of the Court, and the wretched condition to which it had brought this country, were better-founded prognostics. The trial of Admiral Keppel, which began

On the *7th*, at Portsmouth, was the first considerable event in this island that showed the King and his Ministers that their power was not so irresistible as they imagined.

Admiral Pye, an old dotard, was at the head of the court-martial, and took little part; but there were two other Admirals that took the lead—Montagu and Arbuthnot. The latter was a Scot, and yet very favourable to the accused. It is justice to the Scots to say, that, from the first moment of the attack on Keppel, the sea officers of that nation acted with a zeal and warmth on his behalf that did them honour. Admiral Campbell, the intrepid Lockhart Ross, and Sir John Lindsay, though the nephew of Lord Mansfield, stood forth as the champions of Keppel in the most undisguised manner. But it was Admiral Montagu, one of the Judges, who acted more as

counsel for the prisoner than as one who was to hear and pronounce on the cause. He was a distant relation of Lord Sandwich, and at variance with him; and, indeed, acted with such unreserved partiality, that, could a speck have been found in Keppel's character, Admiral Montagu's behaviour would have authorized prejudice itself. That rough seaman browbeat the few witnesses that were supposed partial, treated Palliser himself with passion and Lord Mulgrave with arrogance, and declared frankly that he should not attend to forms of law, but to justice. It required the almost unanimous voice of the witnesses in favour of Keppel's conduct, and the vile arts practised against him, to convince all mankind how falsely and basely he had been accused. His merit burst forth in the most pathetic eulogies from the artless testimony of the honest seamen; and one expression of Admiral Campbell forced tears from the audience, and became proverbial. Being asked if Keppel had done anything to tarnish the honour of the flag, the good old man, with the simplicity of heart-felt eloquence, cried out, "Oh, fie! no!"

Palliser acted with no address, and showed so little judgment in the conduct of the trial, that nobody could suppose he had drawn up the charge himself. Admiral Montagu's partiality was so glaring, that as soon as Palliser perceived how little he could hurt Keppel, and how much glory would accrue to the latter from the concurrent testimony of the navy, the best thing Sir Hugh could have done would have been to complain of the court-martial being biassed by prejudice, and to have refused to proceed in his crimination before such partial Judges. Lord Sandwich's finesse seemed to have deserted him, too, on that ocasion, in not suggesting that subterfuge; but he was busied in tampering with the witnesses and the log-

books, and in all those little tricks that were the flowers of his genius, and which doubled his confusion. He does seem to have aimed at some *éclat* by sending Lord Mulgrave to browbeat the court-martial; but the Lord was overmatched by the impetuosity of Montagu, and was forced to swallow a reprimand from the Court.

The Commission was scarce opened before Sandwich felt the grievous blunder he had made. Every day's trial heaped new glory on the prisoner. The Earl set himself early to disclaim any concert with Palliser, but all his actions betrayed it. The five articles of the charge demonstrated that they had not been the result of rashness, passion, and precipitation. The fourth article, in particular, seemed to comprehend every species of crime that could strike the feelings of seamen unused to reason, and had, no doubt, been drawn by some able lawyer, and well pondered. It is not unfair to surmise, if Palliser presented them in a fit of rage, that he had been pressed to offer them for some time before he yielded. The little regard paid to Keppel, both previously and after his acquittal, by the King—the tenderness exerted in behalf of Sir Hugh, and the promotion of his officers and advocates, even during and in the face of the trial, were speaking symptoms that the King was by no means on the side of the innocent.

The Rockingham faction took up the trial with very different spirit from what they had ever exerted. Charles Fox, being told by one of the Cavendishes, who had been at Portsmouth, that their friends there were finely warm, replied, "Then I will go thither; I want to see what their warmth is—I have never seen any in them." The Marquis of Rockingham, and even the Marchioness, established themselves at Portsmouth during the whole progress of the trial; so did Burke, and often the Duke of Richmond,

and others of their friends. The Duke of Cumberland, too, as a seaman, interested himself as much, and, with his Duchess, lodged at Portsmouth the whole time.

It was probably in resentment for this behaviour of his brother that the King at that very time determined to send his third son, a boy of nine or ten years of age,[1] to sea in one of the fleets that were to sail, as a hint to the Duke of Cumberland that he was never to be Lord High Admiral, which he would not have been otherwise. So engrossed was the universal attention by the court-martial, and so deserted the Parliament by the Opposition, that, though the adjournment ended on the 14th, and the trial not till February 11th, no business of moment was done in either House. In truth, the Rockingham squadron treated the trial of Keppel as an affair of party rather than as a national one—at least, as if it were the first interest of the nation to vindicate Keppel: yet one incident made this conduct ridiculous.

Garrick, the celebrated actor, died on the 19*th*, and, a most extravagant pomp being exhibited for his funeral in Westminster Abbey, Edmund Burke, who would not leave the trial to attend his duty in Parliament, came post to town to attend the player's burial, and returned to Ports-

[1] When Prince William Henry *was* sent to sea, he had, at least, to make and fight his way among his young shipmates. I am told, on reliable authority, that in the first week of his cruise, for some impertinence at mess, he received a "drubbing" from one of the mates. The prince threatened to tell his father. "Ah!" replied the mate, "I would serve your father in the same way if he were in your place and behaved as unlike a gentleman." The mate was living at Deal when the Duke of Clarence became Lord High Admiral, and summoned his old shipmate up to town. At the interview the Duke began by asking, "Are you the man who gave me my first 'hiding' at sea?" "Oh! your Royal Highness," said the veteran, "I, I am sorry for it." "Well, I am not," replied the Duke, "for it helped to make a man of me; and now I want to do something for you." The mate returned to Deal with a step or two in rank. In these later days the navy has seen, with surprise, a young prince sent to sea with a protector; and it has created something more than surprise that this guardian, or "governor," is not an officer in the navy, but a lieutenant of engineers!—D.

mouth that very night. Yet even in that zeal he acted injudiciously, for the Court was delighted to see a more noble and splendid appearance at the interment of a comedian than had waited on the remains of the great Earl of Chatham, though *his* funeral was appointed by the orders of the House of Commons.

At a time less occupied by one great affair, there happened an interlude that well deserved attention, and is worthy of being transmitted to posterity, as it regarded a character that has made himself historic by his base attempts to decry two of the most virtuous and favourite characters in our history—those martys to liberty, Algernon Sydney and Lord Russell. The detestable libeller I mean is Sir John Dalrymple, who, after daring to asperse heroes, proved a scurrilous libeller in the more common sense of the word, and a notorious coward in consequence of his libel. In the beginning of this year he published a bulky pamphlet, neither the matter nor contents of which at all deserved the attention of the public. It was a virulent and gross abuse of Lord Barrington, the late Secretary-at-War, for not obliging Sir John in a job or two that he had solicited; and the author gave the Viscount the lie direct in more than one passage. Lord Barrington, though sixty-two, sent the Baronet a challenge, the more spirited as the Scots, on Sir John's publication of his History, had sounded him high as a most passionate and courageous man, who would call any one to account that should attack his History. But this redoubted hero, some years younger than his antagonist, replied to Lord Barrington's defiance, that, being now one of His Majesty's Judges, it would not become him to fight a duel. To this pitiful evasion Lord Barrington returned, that he himself had a brother (Daines Barrington) who was a Judge too; but should that bro-

ther injure any man grossly, and refuse to give him satisfaction, he should look on his brother as a scoundrel; and so he should think of Sir John, and treat him accordingly whenever he met him. To this *the reverend Judge* replied, that, if that was to be the case, he should take care to keep out of his Lordship's way, lest passion should provoke him to act in a manner unseemly to his station. But this contemptible Drawcansir, long before his cowardice was shrouded in furs, had given clear proofs of his want of spirit. The following anecdotes of him were told me by Thomas Townshend, junr., a man of as prompt courage as Sir John was deficient in it. Not long after Dalrymple's publication of his second volume, this Mr. Townshend and Mr. John Byng expressed in the House of Commons their indignation at his attack on Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney. After the debate, Colonel Masterton, a Scot, said to Mr. Townshend, "You don't know what you have done: you had better take care of yourself; Sir J. Dalrymple is a very hot-headed fellow. I assure you I once saw him knock down a gentleman in a coffee-house, and it was as much as I and two more could do in preventing Sir John from stabbing him while he was down." Mr. Townshend smiled at the instance, and said, "Sir, whenever I meet Sir John Dalrymple, I shall take care to keep on my legs."

Soon after this conversation, Mr. Townshend and Mr. William Burke, being shut out of the House of Commons while there was a division, went into the Gentleman Usher's room, where they found Sir John Dalrymple, to whom Townshend purposely gave a surly look of defiance, of which Sir John chose to take no notice. The next day W. Burke called on Townshend and said, "You have drawn me into a fine scrape. You choose to affront Dalrymple,

and he revenges himself on me. Here is a letter I have just received from him, in which he tells me he hears I am going to answer his book. That if I attacked him only as an author he should bear it; but if there was anything illiberal in my answer, and personal to him, he should resent it. I have answered him," added Burke, "that I was surprised where he could hear such a story; that so far from thinking of answering his book, I had never read it; but if I did, and found any inclination to answer it, I should be very indifferent how he took it." Soon after, Townshend and Burke, walking through Park Street, met Sir John with a woman leaning on his arm. The recollection of what had passed made them both smile. When passed, Sir John stopped and called Burke, who soon returned laughing. "What do you think the fellow has said to me?" cried Burke; "he said, 'Mr. Burke, you are a very warm man, and sent me a very extraordinary answer to my letter. I considered for some days whether I should not resent it, but I thought better on it.' I did mean," replied Burke, "that you should think it extraordinary, and was in hopes you would." Sir John said not a word more, nor is worth a word more.[2]

The court-martial had proceeded but few days before a capital alteration was discovered to have been made on one of the log-books. It proved to have been made by Captain Hood, an officer of good renown—nor could he deny it. He pleaded, that, not knowing but he might be

[2] He published an Appendix, in which he mentioned the challenge he had received and his declension of it; and declared his intention of keeping out of England to avoid Lord Barrington: but said he should go abroad every year as usual, and, if Lord Barrington sought his blood, should think himself justified in defending his life in a foreign country—as if a judge was not justifiable in defending his life in his own country! but such wretched behaviour and pitiful evasions are best seen in his own words. Any paraphrase would seem exaggerated till collated with the original.

brought to trial himself, he had thought it necessary to have his log-book very correct. In some respects he equivocated disgracefully, and sunk at once so entirely in the eyes of his profession that at Portsmouth he was excluded from their society, and stigmatized as a tool of Lord Sandwich and Palliser, especially as, in the course of the trial, Keppel urged that the alteration would have affected his life. Hood was naturally a reserved and shrewd man, but a very proud one. After the action of July 27th, he had been abused as not having done his duty, no more than Brereton, who had been tried and broken for being drunk during the engagement. Hood had married Miss West, first cousin of Lady Chatham, and had been an intimate favourite of her Lord. Whether Hood, from rage at the unjust aspersion of his character, had combined his resentments with Palliser's, or whether, despairing of preferment from the Opposition on the death of Lord Chatham, he had attached himself to Lord Sandwich, was not known. Captain Bazeley, Palliser's own Captain, lost himself too by his glaring partiality to the latter; and a second practice on the log-book being afterwards discovered, the tide ran so strongly in Keppel's favour that almost all the witnesses vied with each other in crying him up to the skies. Captain Digby, and one or two who, it was thought, would be most hostile, said nothing to his prejudice, though more reserved of their encomiums. But the fatal blow to Palliser was given by Captain Windsor, brother of Lord Plymouth, who had been sent by the Admiral to Palliser to order him to come up, and deposed to the delivery of the message. It was made clear, too, that Palliser had seen the Admiral's signals, and that, as the French fled, a victory would probably have been gained had he advanced.

Palliser's own behaviour during the trial was poor and passionate; Keppel's, cool and temperate, and modest. In truth, they were in very different situations: Keppel stood to hear his own praises sounded higher even than he had grounds to expect; Palliser saw himself the opprobrium and outcast of his profession. Disgrace would cost him his employments, and the evidence he had summoned to overwhelm his enemy turned to threaten his own life. In the heat of the altercation he was so intemperate as to throw out a challenge to Keppel. The latter, whose courage was the burthen of every conversation, as his conduct was too, waived the defiance with a contemptuous smile, and assured him he should never take any farther notice of it.

Every account from Portsmouth was as unpalatable as possible to the Court. Nor did they receive consolatory news from any other quarter. Even a new and very unexpected storm had arisen from a quarter in which they thought themselves most secure. The Scottish Presbyterians could not or would not digest the toleration of Popery, which it was intended to extend to that country also. From private and quiet meetings in separate parishes they had worked their opposition up to a general flame; and after the Kirk had, at the end of January, voted a remonstrance against the meditated Bill, the populace had caught or had been instigated by their pastors to feel enthusiasms against Popery. It burnt forth in the beginning of

FEBRUARY,

WHEN the mob rose and demolished two mass-houses, and threatened the lives of two Catholic lords, Lord Traquair and his son Lord Linton. They were not less enraged against the historian Dr. Robertson, principal of the University, whom they supposed a principal advocate for the Bill. They attacked the College, and he was with difficulty saved from their fury. The insurrection was not appeased till the provost and magistrates engaged that the Bill should be dropped; and so humbled was the Court at that moment by so many tempests of resistance (for there were great riots at Glasgow too), that Lord Weymouth, one of the Secretaries of State, was ordered to write a humiliating letter to assure the Scottish clergy that the Administration had no intention of relaxing the laws against Popery in that kingdom. This was a glaring falsity. Lord Beauchamp, one of the Lords of the Treasury, had told me that he had thoughts of moving to take off double taxes from Roman Catholics. In that respect the Opposition were as forward as the Court. Charles Fox, on the report of the land-tax before Christmas, had moved for that repeal; but was told that he was too late, as the bill for the land-tax was too far advanced; and that he must wait till another year. It was a bitter pill for the King and Lord Mansfield to swallow—resistance to Popery from Scotland.

The navy disgusted, insurrections in Scotland, Wales mutinous, a rebellion ready to break out in Ireland, where

15,000 Protestants were in arms, without authority, for their own defence, many of them well-wishers to the Americans, and all so ruined that they insisted on relief from Parliament, or were ready to throw off subjection; Holland pressed by France to refuse us assistance, and demanding whether we would or not protect them; uncertainty of the fate of the West Indian islands; and dread at least that Spain might take part with France; Lord North at the same time perplexed to raise money on the loan but at eight per cent., which was demanded—such a position and such a prospect might have shaken the stoutest king and the ablest administration. Yet the King was insensible to his danger. He had attained what pleased him most—his own will at home. His Ministers were nothing but his tools—everybody called them so, and they proclaimed it themselves. He could not make an entire change without granting mortifying terms, without parting with his tractable creatures, without admitting masters, and probably not without being forced to part with his darling idea—absolute power over America. I question whether his Majesty himself had the smallest intention of making any change, yet most of his Ministers thought it inevitable. The whole nation proclaimed it impossible for him to preserve Sandwich at the head of the Admiralty. It was thought that most of the commanders of the fleet would refuse to serve under him, yet Sandwich had the firmest hold on the King's protection. That artful and intriguing politician had wormed himself into the entire government of the East India Company, and by that management had got into his own hands the intercourse of diamonds with which the Indian Nabobs in our interest fed the passion of the King and Queen for jewels. An East India ship had been lost before Christmas in which was known to be a

brilliant of extraordinary dimensions, and it was said in all 130,000*l.* worth of diamonds. As of all the Opposition the Duke of Richmond had meddled most in Indian affairs, he was likely on a change to interfere again in their affairs: so clear-sighted and so virtuous a man would be an unwelcome exchange for Sandwich!

Lord North probably turned his mind to any alteration as little as his master. His place must be the first vacated, and no change could save him. Lord George Germaine was as desperate. He had not a friend but Lord Suffolk, either at Court or in the Opposition. He was fallen as low as he could be, except by dismission. None of his plans had succeeded, and his parts were sunk in esteem as low as his character. Yet at that very moment a few changes were designed even by the Court, though the King probably intended to fill the vacancies with other present Courtiers. The Ministers were angry at Lord Buckingham for having encouraged the Irish *Protestants* to arm. It was declared that he had desired to be recalled—but it may be presumed he had been ordered to desire it. It was given out too that Lord Suffolk found his infirmities too great, and would retire also. Some believed that he and Wedderburn had been trafficking with the Rockingham faction for a junction. If they did, and with the King's privity, I should suppose that the Secretary and Attorney hoped to be spared in the general proscription in favour of their being the negotiators. The sole view of his Majesty, and the great instrument of whatever success he had had in his reign, *was to divide the Opposition*, and at the same time relax their spirit while the treaty was pending. If he could separate the Rockinghams from Grafton, Camden, and Shelburne, half his point was gained; and whichever set was admitted alone, he would

be master to retain part of his Administration. Jenkinson and Cornwall had long been trying to gain Lord Shelburne, and told him that, if he would not be offensive, he must be Minister; but it was Grafton that the King himself would have preferred to all, from former experience of his submission.

But there was one cohort of the Administration that, from seeing their common danger, had long been attempting a negociation in earnest, but with triple teachery, for they meant to betray their associates, and dealt separately with the two squadrons of Rockingham and Grafton. These were Rigby, Lord Weymouth, and the Chancellor. The first was no doubt the instigator of the others. His place of Paymaster was his *summum bonum*; he had sacrificed every friend and every connection to obtain and to keep it, and he would not lose it if the same artifices could avail him. Rank fear was Weymouth's predominating characteristic; he was proud too, but not of any principle; and besides he was indigent. He and Rigby easily drew the Chancellor into their plot. He neither knew the Court or mankind; he was intrepid in the right place or the wrong, and indifferent to either; and being sensible that he owed his eminence to no favour of the King or the Ministers, for nobody but his two friends had wished him there, he was willing to owe his retaining it to their intrigues only. Their negociation was easily tapped. Weymouth passed the night in drinking with Charles Fox, and so commenced it. Rigby could not decently, for in reality there was no post that could suit Charles Fox's necessities but the Paymaster's—yet Rigby's being of the complot barred Fox's demand of being his successor. They had opened the treaty in the summer, and various proposals had passed. At one time Lord Rockingham had broken off, on being

told that the King would dispose of the vacant Garters; at others, the feigned Ambassadors pretended that they had no power of offering the Treasury. They certainly had not, nor authority from the King to offer anything; but could they have sealed a firm union with the Rockinghams, I am persuaded they would have bullied the King, and told him they would resign unless he gave up such Ministers as they were willing to sacrifice.

The sudden turn made by the court-martial alarmed the three plotters; they renewed the negociation both with Rockingham and Grafton. The latter, for the first time, was steady, and would not accede; the other was less obdurate—but I shall say more of that negociation presently.

Insensible as Lord North was, he perceived the error of Sandwich, and into what difficulties he had plunged them. The Minister told a capital citizen that he believed the Parliament must soon be prorogued, such heats were likely to arise there from the court-martial. It was on the 11*th*, in the evening, that a courier to Lord Bristol brought the news of Keppel's acquittal, couched in the most honourable terms for him, and most ignominious to his antagonist. Palliser himself had escaped out of Portsmouth at five in the morning in a hired postchaise, to avoid insults and outrage from the mob, and sheltered himself in the Admiralty. The news spread rapidly through the town, and by eleven at night most houses were illuminated both in London and Westminster. Guns were discharged by the servants of some of the great Lords in the Opposition, and squibs and crackers thrown plentifully by the populace. The Ministers and some of the Scots were sullen and would not exhibit lights; yet the mob was far more temperate than usual, the Opposition having

taken no pains to inflame them, nor even furnished them with any *cri de guerre*. Late at night, as the people grew drunk, an empty house in Pall Mall, lately inhabited by Sir Hugh Palliser, and still supposed to belong to him, was attacked, the windows were broken, and at last, though some guards had been sent for, the mob forced their way into it, and demolished whatever remained. The windows of Lord Mulgrave and Captain Hood were likewise broken, and some few others accidentally that were not illuminated. It happened at three in the morning that Charles Fox, Lord Derby and his brother Major Stanley, and two or three more young men of quality, having been drinking at Almack's till that late hour, suddenly thought of making the tour of the streets, and were joined by the Duke of Ancaster,[1] who was very drunk, and which showed it was no premeditated scheme—the latter was a courtier, and had actually been breaking windows. Finding the mob before Palliser's house, some of the young Lords said, "Why don't you break Lord George Germaine's windows?" The populace had been so little tutored that they asked who he was, and, being encouraged, broke his windows. The mischief pleasing the juvenile leaders, they marched to the Admiralty, forced the gates, and demolished Palliser's and Lord Lilburne's windows. Lord Sandwich, exceedingly terrified, escaped through the garden with his mistress, Miss Reay,[2] to the Horse Guards, and there betrayed a most manifest panic.

Lord Hertford told me that, having engaged Lord

[1] Robert, the fourth of the five Dukes of Ancaster, which title became extinct in 1804. He succeeded his father in August, 1778, and died of scarlet fever in the July of this year, 1779, aged 22. He was to have married Lady Horatia Waldegrave (daughter of Walpole's niece, the Duchess of Gloucester), who had a lucky escape of a man addicted to drinking and rioting. For a description of the tippling Duchesses of Ancaster, see Walpole to Mann, 9 July, 1779.—D.

[2] Shot by Hackman, in April, 1779. —D.

Sandwich to dine with him on the 12th with the Spanish Ambassador, the Earl at dinner-time sent him word that he could come safely to dine with him by daylight, but as he might be insulted or ill-used in the evening he desired to be excused.

The rioters then proceeded to Lord North's, who got out on the top of his house; but the alarm being now given, the Guards arrived and prevented any farther mischief. Three of the lower rioters were taken up the next day.

Soon after the trial, at a meeting of the Rockinghams, some reflection being thrown on Lord Mansfield, the Marquis said, "You mistake; Lord Mansfield has always been for Keppel." "Perhaps so," replied Lord Abingdon; "but Lord Mansfield has always been against the Constitution."

"*For the 'Public Advertiser.'*

"EPIGRAM.

"Too long had Neptune seen with deep disdain
Twitcher usurp his empire of the main;
But when *one* prong was from the trident lost,
Thro' his vile tricks, off Ushant's trembling coast,
'Now (cried the god) this sceptre suits him well:
'He has stol'n our brother Pluto's, King of Hell.'

W. MASON."

12*th.* Lord Mulgrave, much abashed, moved to alter the law relating to court-martials, and with great confusion declared that his Majesty had been pleased to *accept* of Sir Hugh Palliser's resignation as Commissioner of the Admiralty. Colonel Barré moved the House to thank Admiral Keppel for his services, which passed with the single negative of Strut, Member for Malden, for which he was much reviled.

Sir Philip Jennings Clarke moved for the bill to exclude contractors from seats in Parliament. Alderman Harley,

one of them, opposed it warmly; but the motion was carried by a majority of 15, but the bill was afterwards thrown out.

The City of London voted to give their freedom to Admiral Keppel, and ordered it to be presented to him in a box of heart of oak.

At night the illuminations were repeated, and were universal; but not the least tumult happened. Lord Weymouth and Lord Sandwich had indeed been so grievously terrified that they had ordered out a party of four hundred of the Guards, and drove to the Queen's house, and endeavoured to persuade the King there would be an insurrection, and advised him to remove to Kew; but his Majesty laughed at their fright, and countermanded the Guards. The same rejoicings were made in various parts of England, and in some the effigy of Palliser was burnt. Still was the Court so favourable to him, that he was now appointed Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds to vacate his seat in Parliament, lest a motion should be made and carried for expelling him from the House of Commons. Thus by protecting, or at least by not daring to punish so black a man, Lord Sandwich warranted suspicions that he had suggested Palliser's treachery off Ushant, which saved the navy of France, and was privy to his accusation of the Admiral. As Sir Hugh's accomplices were sheltered too, nay, and Sandwich himself, whatever guilt fell on both, involved the Crown too that supported them.

15*th*. A new difficulty was thrown in the way of the Court. Temple Luttrell had charged the Admiralty in the House of Commons with vast embezzlement of money; but as little regard was paid to him by either Court or Opposition, he printed the charge in the public papers, and *named* Lord Sandwich as the criminal. This too passing

unnoticed, he instigated Lord Radnor to complain to the Lords of the printer as guilty of a breach of privilege, Luttrell having promised to avow the paper as his own, hoping to commit the two Houses in a quarrel. In vain Sandwich declared he complained of no insult, in vain the Duke of Richmond advised the House not to meddle with printers, who had more than once defied their dignity,—Lord Radnor persisted, and the printer was ordered to attend; though Wilkes declared he would commit their messenger, if he attempted to seize the printer, who lived in the City. The printer wrote to the Chancellor that Mr. Temple Luttrell was the author; but the Ministers chose to swallow the affront and the indignity, and took no notice of Luttrell.

Lord Rockingham moved for papers relative to Keppel's trial. The Chancellor said it was customary to address the King for such papers. Lord Rockingham replied he was very unwilling to name the King in so ignominious a business. "What!" cried Lord Ravensworth, "shall we apply to the King for the papers that are in the hands of every man?" They were ordered. It is remarkable that on four or five subsequent debates the Chancellor had the disgrace of being foiled by raising most partial and as unprecedented objections. He had very indiscreetly, immediately after receiving the Seals, told the King *aloud* at the levee, that the House of Lords did not understand debating, but he would teach them how. Devoted to violence, and totally ignorant of the forms of the House, he threw off all decency, combated the most simple and usual rules, and though his quickness supplied him with new arguments, he was as constantly foiled, and forced to recede. He disgraced his judgment, temper, dignity; but recommended himself to the King and his party in proportion as he shocked the rest of mankind.

The Duke of Richmond the same day announced his intention of inquiring into the abuses at Greenwich, of which Lord Sandwich professed himself glad.

Lord Newhaven in the Commons moved for papers relating to Ireland. General Conway wished to have a day appointed for taking the state of that country into consideration. Lord North avoided it by promising some favour to Ireland. Irresolute as usual, he changed his mind again; then granted some indulgence on cambrics, for which he was burnt in effigy at Glasgow; then was angry at Lord Beauchamp for moving that England should pay 3000 of the Irish troops; then adopted that measure himself—would not permit Lord Beauchamp to move it, but moved it himself.

The negociation with Lord Rockingham had still gone on by intervals, and sometimes with the Duke of Grafton, and, they both believed, by warrant from the King; but as the Treasury was still to be withheld, the treaty broke off, and only served to make a firmer union between the several factions in Opposition.

16*th*. Lord Rockingham moved the Lords to thank Admiral Keppel as the Commons had done.

The same night Admiral Keppel arrived in town as privately as he could, and towards evening, to avoid being received in triumph. However, the town was again illuminated in the most splendid manner, but without any rioting or disturbance, though with great indignation of the Courtiers.

"AN EPIGRAM

"ON THE LATE REJOICINGS.

"Ye courtly heroes, who so boldly vote
To cut America's collective throat,
And hope to tear her limb from limb asunder,
With J—hns—'s, Ed—n's, and L—d C—rl—e's thunder;

"Your threats are vain, your very looks are fibs;
Cowards, ye quake at crackers and at squibs;
Trembling, lest every stone the rabble darts
Should break the casement of your guilty hearts.
SQUIBLERUS. W. M(ASO)N."

18*th.* Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, having undertaken to prosecute the three rioters, notice was taken of it in the House of Commons; and Charles Fox, handsomely and generously, though liable to be reproached with having been one of their instigators, pleaded for them; and the Ministers were reproached with their partial cruelty, when the King had pardoned the two Chairmen though actually convicted of having committed murder. The Court was ashamed, and dropped the prosecution. Admiral Keppel appeared in the House, and received its thanks from the Speaker with great modesty. Wilkes then made his annual motion against the Middlesex election, and, as usual, without any effect. After the debate Lord North asked him what he would have done if he had carried the question?—he replied, he had more motions to make. Lord North answered with an indecent sneer, "Should you have expected to be thanked by the House?"

19*th.* Admiral Keppel went to the King's levee, who received him civilly, but took not the least notice of what had passed relative to him, nor showed him any particular distinction.

The Duke of Richmond, in the absence of Lord Bristol, who had intended to move it, and who was confined by the gout, moved for a list of the Royal Navy as it stood in January 1771. Lord Sandwich said he should object to no motions personal to himself, nor saw any harm in the question proposed; but as it would probably be followed by others, which might give too much information to the enemy, as such questions had done the last year, he should

object to it. The Chancellor demanded sight of the Duke's other motions, that the House might judge of the propriety of the whole. This was warmly reprobated by Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, and others, and supported by the Ministers. The Duke of Richmond asserted his right of making a single motion separately, as he had indubitably a right to do, but condescended to read his other intended motions; and told the Ministers, that, if they put negatives on them, it would be defeating an inquiry which the nation now demanded. He also asked Lord Sandwich if the House was to understand that Sir Hugh Palliser was to be tried by a court-martial, for Lord Sandwich had dropped that he thought *none* of the officers to blame in the action of July 27th, and for his part, the Duke said, he knew Admiral Keppel had forgiven Palliser and had no thoughts of accusing him. Sandwich replied that the Admiralty, having found in the minutes of the court-martial matter to criminate Sir Hugh, had given him orders to prepare for his trial. This being a direct contradiction to his assertion that he thought none of the officers to blame, he was severely handled, and so abashed that he suffered the Duke's motions to pass without a negative, at which the Chancellor was very indignant.

Charles Fox told the Commons that he had intended to move an Address to the King to remove Sir H. Palliser from all his employments, but had that morning heard a report that precluded his motion, for he had been told that Sir Hugh had been dismissed or removed from all his employments, and desired to know if either was true. Lord North said it was true that he had resigned his seat at the Admiralty, his government of Scarborough Castle, and his Lieutenantship of the Marines. Fox

broke out on the scandalous tenderness for a man so criminal, compared with the ill-treatment of the meritorius Keppel, to whom the Ministers had only written coldly to hoist his flag again. He said he did not want to persecute the unhappy man, nor saw what good a court-martial could do him, for it could not clear him from having brought a malicious and unjust charge against Keppel, which disqualified him from ever serving again as Vice-Admiral, and therefore he had a mind to move for taking that rank from him. He might still have a court-martial, *as Lord George Germaine had had.* Morton said the sentence calling the charge malicious was extra-judicial. Burke warmly vindicated the court-martial. Lord Howe and Lord Nugent were against the motion on the flag, as prejudging; Conway agreed with them, though he declared he thought Palliser unfit to remain in the fleet; Charles Fox, in compliment to Conway, abstained from his motion.

20*th.* The City went in solemn procession to carry Admiral Keppel his freedom, and carried him back to dine with them at the London Tavern. At night the City was again illuminated, which spread to Westminster after midnight, when the mob was much more riotous than the preceding nights, and far more windows broken; but it was believed to be at the instigation of the Court to make the Opposition sick of those rejoicings, for many windows of the Opposition were broken, particularly Charles Fox's. In these tumults Admiral Keppel excused himself from dining with the West-India merchants (as he had been invited to do), that he might give no occasion to more disturbances.

22*nd.* The Court received news of the capture of Saint Lucia by General Grant, with the late embarkation from

New York, and of D'Estaing's landing to attempt to recover it, and of his being beaten off. At the same time came an account of General Campbell's success in Georgia, where he had met with little or no resistance. The Court talked in the highest strain on these advantages, and affected to believe that Campbell with his 1500 men would overrun the Carolinas, where they said they had a strong party, if not recover all America. The other blow was more important, and took off much uneasiness for the West Indies. A prodigious number of captures were made of French merchantmen, but by privateers. D'Estaing seemed to have conducted his whole expedition very ill: it was still more surprising how few strokes, almost none, France had struck, though we so exposed in all quarters. They did now take Senegal, where they found but four of our people left.

24*th*. Lord North opened the Budget, and gave an account of the difficulties he had met in raising the money, the contractors having insisted on great premiums for their losses last year by his not letting them know of the treaty between France and America. He confessed that a million more was still wanting than he could obtain. Charles Fox, who had never applied to finance, nor was supposed to understand it at all, entered into that subject, and made as great a figure as he did on all others, and exposed Lord North in that light as much as he had in others. Governor Johnston, who tried to act a trimming part, censured the Ministers, but said he should prefer them to any set of men who would relinquish America; but the Ministers had retained him by agreeing to allow him his appointment as Commissioner to the following June, though he had done nothing there but hurt to them and his own character, and had been at home ever since October.

Such incapable and unsuccessful Ministers could not have kept their places had they not found numbers of such sordid and profligate natures as Johnston's.

LOOSE PAPERS.

Mar. 1*st.* LORD N.'s taxes. See 'Public Advertiser.'

Account of peace between Emperor and Prussia.

3*rd.* Ch. Fox's motion against Lord Sandwich. Sat till 1. 207 to 170.

Lord Sandwich, so frightened, begged people to attend, as his life and reputation in danger. Lord North took defence of Sandwich—said they were one.

6*th.* Duke of Bolton said, everything at sea but our fleet.

Lord Camd. on Chanc.; seems determined to go to extremes—all, nothing.

Lord Suffolk died, aged 39.

8*th.* Charles Fox's second motion. Adm. Keppel and Howe declared could not serve with this Adm. Sir J. Lowther spoke against the motion and went away. Ministry rallied, were 246 to 174; sat till past 12. Sir H. Mann against, said as —— at Vienna, "Where your vast fleet?"

10*th.* Debate on Dissenters.

11*th.* Ditto on Contractors, &c.

12*th.* Greenw. and Ireland.

16*th.* Account of taking of Pondicherry.

17*th.* Dissenters' Bill.

23*rd.* Motion of Ch. Fox. Lord G. Germaine, presuming on better prospects, talked *almost* of unconditional submission, &c. &c. &c.

Nov. 29*th.* Tem. Luttrell said in the House, though he approv. freedom of debate, should in future be *guarded*; as heard bravoes and murderers about.

30*th.* Acct. from Dublin that a merchant had entered wooln. goods for exportn. Custom-house had seized them, and he sued the Custm.-hse.

Dec. 1*st.* Lord Shelburne's motion for censure on neglect of Ireland. Ld. Gower declared against Lord North.

Debates on ditto in House of Commons.

Meeting in City to swear Wilkes Chamberlain. Mr. Chs. Fox's health toasted, with reflections on Adam and Martin.

Nov. 29*th.* Sir C. Hardy in the House said he had offered the French battle twice.

Dec. 2*nd.* Conversation in the Commons on the navy. Lord Mulgrave said he did not know whether we should be weaker or stronger next year. Acct. from Ireland that the Castle had lost a question for new taxes by 123.

3*rd.* Land-tax. Mr. Hartley said, as America had not mentioned in Speech, hoped money given would be applied to it.

Lord North said, money was given agt. combination against England, which included France, Spain, and America. Hartley replied, the resolution in Gibbon's memorial of never owning independence proved Lord N. had been insincere in spring, when he had encouraged him to negotiate with Dr. Franklin by tacitly allowing the independence; and he pressed Ld. N. with having about

same time made meanest offers to France to separate them from America. Ld. N. did not deny the first, but said he had not looked on it as very serious, Mr. Hartley having no commission to do it (yet Dr. Franklin had had power from Congress to offer truce for ten years on the *uti possidetis*). Ld. N. positively denied the second, of mean offers to France, yet should have thought almost anything right to separate France from America. Mr. Hartley said he would conclude with what he did not desire anybody should understand but Ld. N., that the latter person would be in great danger.

5*th*. Letters from Dubl. that Mr. Gratton had persuaded the merchant Horand to drop his suit agt. the Cust.-hó. officers till they should see what the Eng. Gov. should do for them.

6*th*. Lord Ossory supported motion of Lord Shelburne on criminal neglect of Ireland. Sir J. Wrotesley to change criminal for blamable. Burke, fine speech. Ld. Advocte. warm against Opposition. Charles Fox very fine; accuses Ld. Advocte. of inflaming Amern. war by warmth, says Ld. North forced to bring all his defenders 400 miles, glances at Rigby for trimming, ridicules Ld. Beauchamp for not knowing how to reconcile his English and Irish characters. McDonald grossly abuses Ld. North, and calls him whimpering and whining, shuffling and cutting. Ld. North, firm answer. Attorn.-Gen. very hostile to Opposition. Ch. Fox told him he was in the right, for Opposition would certainly not receive him. Questn. rejected by 192 to 100.

7*th*. Duke of Richd's. motion for advising King to retrench Civil List, rejected. Lord Shelburne said Ministers should not complain of our despondency, for it was despondency alone that kept the King on the throne.

8*th.* Army in House of Commons. McDonald recanted his abuse on Ld. North, said he had been drunk. Gen. Conway said he disliked party, but all so ill-conducted, everybody ought to join against the Ministry.

9*th.* Acct. from Ireland, Prime Serjeant Hussey Burgh resigned. Lord Shannon, who command. two bodies of independents of 500 and 700, dispossessed by them for voting in the Court, and very low leaders chosen in his room.

Lord North's propositions for Ireland. He desired House would take till following Monday to consider them.

10*th.* Remonstrance from Middlesex presented to the House of Commons. Complaint made of a letter of the Duke of Chandos on Hampsh. election.

13*th.* Lord North's propositions for Ireland read first time and voted, *nem. con.* Mr. Fox said he would not oppose, lest, if rejected in Ireland, it should be said it was owing to the Opposition here.

15*th.* Motions in both Houses: *vide* 'London Courant' and 'Public Advertiser.' Ld. Shelb., fine speech on extravagance of Admn. Governors formerly for extras had drawn but for 800*l.* a year, now for 96,000*l.* Famous rum contract for double what it cost Mr. Atkinson. 5000*l.* given as present to Sir Ths. Mills out of extras of Gov. of Quebec. A new place created, called Taster of Rum. Duke of Richmd. said, one govr., the Govr. of Jersey, had drawn a bill for extras but of 23*l.*

17*th.* City votes thanks to minority Lords for recommending economy. Debates in both Houses: *vide* 'Pub. Ad.' and 'Lond. Courant.' Gen. Conway gave an account of his own reforms in Ordnance; that he might have been General of it, and quitted because he could not serve under a junior. Had written many press-

ing letters for artillerymen; had at last received seven, but had himself formed there a regiment of 600, and had kept them as constantly exercised as if the island had been actually attacked.

18*th.* Account of Col. Dalrymple and Capt. Luttrell taking the fort of Omoa from the Spaniards, and two register ships: *vide* 'Gazette.'

20*th.* Extra 'Gazette' on the repulse of D'Estaing at the Savannah in Georgia. Same day, conspirators against Lord Pigott found guilty in King's Bench. Irish Bill passed by King, and Parliament adjourned for holidays.

24*th.* Court lost Hampsh. election; Sir R. Worseley giving up before end of the poll.

Nine East India ships arrived.

27*th.* Arrived two votes of the House of Comms. of Ireland expressing, *nem. con.*, satisfaction with the Act passed here for their free trade, and gratitude for the friendly disposition of England.

The principal Irish gentlemen, even those in Opposition, as Mr. Gratton, certainly took so warm a part as they did *for* England, on the reception of the Bill, from their having been in danger of seeing their influence and popularity wrenched out of their hands by the mob. An attempt had even been made at Cork to divest Lord Shannon of the command of his volunteer regiment, for having voted for new taxes. There was much abuse in Irish House of Commons, on Lord Shelburne for having said the associations were illegal, and on Ch. Fox for saying he would take no part.

It was now fortunate this had happened. England gave what she ought to have given sooner. Ireland did not exult in having forced it. And there were 40,000 Protestants armed against France or arbitrary power. Ireland, how-

ever, had asked what could not relieve her immediate distresses, for they must first set up manufactures, and adv. capitals, and *trade* could not flow in in a moment.

Accounts that 3000 back settlers in Carolina had risen on Prevost's victory,[1] seized a town, and declared for the King.

30*th*. Mutiny at York of independent gentlemen (chiefly stirred up by Mr. Mason) for petitioning House of Commons to give no more taxes till reductions of expenses and sinecure places, &c., which gave too much influence to the Crown. Lord Rockingham and other Lords had no hand in this, but would go down to it, though pains taken to stop them: however, they were thanked by the meeting; and a Committee was appointed to correspond with other places, and then adjourn to Easter, but Committee was to continue sitting.

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[1] At Briar's Creek, where Prevost totally defeated the American General, Ashe, in March. A second action, with similar result, was fought at the same place in May, 1779.—D.

1780.

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JANUARY.

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2nd. ACCOUNT from Plymouth that Captain Fielding had brought into that port some Dutch merchantmen, with their convoy, the Dutch Admiral, and two more men-of-war. The town of Amsterdam, devoted to France, had agreed to supply the Brest fleet with naval stores, particularly masts and timber, without which it was said that fleet could not again put to sea. The English party in Holland represented against this aid, as breach of treaty with us. The Amsterdammers persisted, and threatened not to pay their taxes if their trade was restricted. The States acquiesced, but said they would not protect that illicit trade if they took advantage of a convoy that was going out, which the Amsterdammers resolved to do. Sir Joseph Yorke advised the Administration here to seize the store ships, persuaded that the Dutch would not make war with us if we did. The Ministers, thinking that so good an opportunity of crippling the French navy made it worth while to risk even another war, ordered Captain Fielding, with five men-of-war of the line and three frigates, to execute that determination, and stationed a line of cutters from the Texel to Spithead to watch the motions of the Dutch. The first cutter ran aground, and the Dutch sailed with the advance of four hours; but Fielding, receiving notice from the second, followed, and came up with

them. He acquainted the Dutch Admiral that he must visit the merchantmen; the other replied he could not permit it. Fielding sent a boat to board and examine; the Dutch Admiral fired, but *over* the boat, designedly. Fielding returned the hostility and civility by firing *over* the Admiral's own ship. The Admiral gave a broadside still in the air; Fielding replied in the same style, and then the Admiral struck, and sent a message hoping he had done no damage. Fielding said none, and desired he would again hoist his flag; but he refused, and insisted on sharing the fate of the ships under his convoy, only desiring that two ships necessarily going to St. Eustatia might proceed, which was allowed. To the great disappointment of the captors and Ministers, no stores were found but hemp and iron. There was, perhaps, a little of Lord Sandwich's usual love of cunning and surprise in this affair.

3*rd*. A petition from Hampshire on the plan of that from Yorkshire was voted at a meeting at Winchester.

7*th*. A like vote from Middlesex, requesting *that no new taxes be granted* till the grievances complained of be redressed and Committee appointed to correspond with that of York.

Lord George Gordon, Chairman of the Protestant Committee, presses Lord North to present their petition for repeal of the toleration of Popery. Lord North refuses.

The Yorkshire Committee talked of redressing themselves if their grievances were not redressed, and the appointment of a Standing Committee was establishing a tribunal over the Parliament.

The corruption of Parliament,[1] the arrogance of the

[1] It was a sensible question of a Scot in a conversation on that subject, Which is more grievous, the corruption of Parliament or privilege of Parliament? As

Ministers, who had frequently rejected motions without deigning an answer, with the fall of the value of lands, and the disgraces of the summer, had provoked that assumed authority which the Archbishop of York, in a pretty temperate letter which he wrote to his Dean, questioned if legal. Some Tories and some wealthy clergymen had joined the meeting. But the *country gentlemen* had been as much to blame, though now clamorous, as the Court. They had remained pleased spectators, and connived at least, and most of them promoted, all the violence against America, and all that waste of blood and treasure, hoping for a revenue from America to raise the land-tax. Thus, selfish interest had kept them silent till now, and now selfish interest dictated their complaints.

The Ministers, on the other hand, found how vainly they had preached up unanimity. The King began to find how ill he had been advised in attempting to extend his prerogative, and the Lords at the head of the Opposition, I think, will find that by half measures, and by waiting in hopes of favour with the King, that their influence will be wrenched out of their hands by lower and

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an instance of the horrid lengths to which party will carry men, this indecent and shocking ballad was printed in the newspapers, on so melancholy a subject as self-murder :—

"*For the 'London Courant,' March* 25, 1780.

"A MERRY SONG ABOUT MURDER.

"There was once a very great fool,
Who fancied all subjects were slaves;
Who endeavour'd at absolute rule,
By the help of a parcel of knaves.
Now *cutting of throats* was his joy,
And making red rivers of blood;
A *fine button* his favourite toy,
Though his *habits* were not very good.
Toroddle, toroddle, toroll.

"Swords, hatchets, and knives he prepar'd
To slaughter his people like sheep:
Man, woman, or child he ne'er spar'd,
Which made even savages weep.
Then like a great lubberly calf,
On his marrow-bones down he did fall:
'*I have kill'd of my people but half;*
Lord, help me to murder them all.'
Toroddle, &c.

"So then the fool fasted and pray'd,
And *baa'd* like an innocent lamb,
Pursuing the while his old trade,
For his *piety* was but a sham;
But his measures so bloody were grown,
That some of his time-serving elves,
For their share in his crimes to atone,
Did cut their own throats of themselves.
Toroddle, &c.

"The first was a lawyer from *York*,
Cajol'd by his coaxing and art;
But who, rather than do dirty work,
Chose out of the world to depart.
Next C—e, and eke Bradshaw the bold,
Last Stanley, with cynical grin,
Show'd the folly of treasuring gold,
When the heart has no treasure within.
Toroddle, &c."

more popular demagogues, who will govern the Committees in the counties, and who will be disappointed if their Parliamentary leaders attain the Administration, and do not satisfy them, which will be impossible.

The King has found that his breach of promise to Ireland, in not keeping up a stated number of troops there, but sending most of them to America, has produced the raising the voluntary independent army of above 40,000 men; but ambition will never learn that "Honesty is the best policy."

Sir Robert Walpole's maxim was, "*Quieta non movere.*" How wise, when applied to the Stamp Act and to all the unconstitutional attempts in the present reign!

The obstinate and contemptuous manner in which the King had sent the Duke of Richmond with his regiment to Exeter, the last summer, had probably contributed to the Duke's personality to the King this winter.

Sussex, Hertfordshire, Cheshire, Devonshire, and even Lord Sandwich's favoured Huntingdonshire, voted to hold meetings in the manner of Yorkshire. Devonshire even voted a fund for buying arms. General Hall, in Yorkshire, wrote to Mr. Mason, advising a like preparation of arms. Mason happened to be Chairman that day, and wisely took on him to suppress the letter, and wrote to the General to remonstrate against such steps. Then Essex, Bedfordshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Brecknockshire summoned like meetings. In some the Sheriff refused. In Cheshire, William Talmache made such a violent speech that it had near lost the petition, in which only Tories joined and no Whigs. In Hertfordshire Lord Cranbourne spoke against and was hissed, which the opposite side lamented and apologised for. Lord Sandwich himself made an opposition at Huntingdon to the petitions, but it was carried by him.

19*th.* Four new raised regiments sent abroad, supposed to the West Indies, and more ordered.

13*th.* Hans Stanley killed himself at Althorpe. He was Cofferer, and had been unprecedentedly made Governor of the Isle of Wight for life; but he was deep in the secrets of the peace of Paris.

22*nd.* Account of Sir George Rodney having taken a 69-gun Spanish man-of-war, and eighteen transports, with cordage, &c.[2] Admiral Parker had lately taken eleven French transports in America.

29*th.* House of Commons met. Lord North presented another bill for Ireland. Lord George Gordon declared the Irish not satisfied, and would not be unless he declared the Tory Act was rescinded; Lord Denham, that they were: *vide* 'Public Advertiser' of 25th.

Protest of Lord Cranbourne, Duke of Marlborough, &c., against Hertfordshire meeting printed in papers.

This Lord George Gordon was a madman, as many of his family had been, and an enthusiast. He had set himself at the head of the Scottish bigoted Presbyterians, against the repeal of the Roman Catholic Bills, and they had set up another association in London. He now interfered in the affairs of Ireland, and made this most dangerous motion, which all men in their senses—at least, all honest men—wished at this time not to have brought in question, as was plain, for no other man ventured to second or to oppose it. On the 27th he had an audience of the King, and immediately began reading his Irish pamphlet, which he had persisted in reading to the House of Commons.

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[2] On the 8th of January, off Finisterre, Rodney effected his grand capture of the fleet of Spanish merchantmen, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz; and on the 16th of the same month he encountered, defeated, and captured or destroyed the fleet of men-of-war under the gallant Don Juan de Langara, off Cape St. Vincent.—D.

The King heard it for an hour, till it was dusk, and then said he would read the rest. Lord George said he would leave it if his Majesty would promise upon his honour to finish it; he said he would. "Yes, Sir," said he, "but you must give me your honour," which the King did.

27*th*. The Marquis of Caermarthen then resigned his key of Chamberlain to the Queen. He had written to the Committee at York that he approved of their meeting. He was a light, variable young man, of very moderate parts, and less principle.

Lord Spencer had procured a meeting in Northamptonshire, where it was thought he had the greatest influence; but one Kerr, a Scotch surgeon, who, though used by him, had always opposed his interest at Northampton, spoke violently against the petition, and carried the assembly with him, who only agreed to give instructions to their Members.

Lord Beauchamp made Cofferer, and Sir R. Worseley Governor of the Isle of Wight, in the room of Hans Stanley.

FEBRUARY.

2*nd*. MEETING for a petition in Westminster Hall. The Court party dispersed handbills to represent the dearness of coals, and then incited the people against the Duke of Richmond as enriched by the coal-tax. About 3000 persons met, headed by the Duke of Portland, the Cavendishes, Charles Fox, R. Fitzpatrick, Wilkes, Sawbridge, Lord Temple, and the Grenvilles, &c.; General Burgoyne, Burke, Townshends, &c. Charles Fox was placed in the chair; Sawbridge moved for the petition, and was seconded by Wilkes, and a petition similar to that of York voted, and a Committee of 103 Lords and others chosen. Charles Fox then made a fine warm speech, and was particularly severe on Lord North and the Duke of Northumberland. Dr. Jebb proposed Mr. Fox for future candidate for Westminster, which was received with universal applause. Lord John Cavendish and Charles Turner likewise spoke.

It was curious to see Charles Fox, lately so unpopular a character, become the idol of the people. His family were still in possession of 200,000*l*. of public money, his father's accounts not being yet passed.[1] * * * It was not less curious to see Lord Cavendish acting so cordially with Wilkes, whom formerly he had been too nice to support. He was also in correspondence with Rigby, who had always ridiculed him; but Lord John's pride and resentments had at last got the better of all his delicacy. Lord Temple, who petitioned for the abolition

[1] Lord Holland, in a note to Lord John Russell's Memorials, &c., of Fox (vol. i. p. 241), says that delay in passing public accounts was not the fault of the Accountant or his representatives, but of the system in use, or of the public offices and Treasury.—D.

of places, was at this moment one of the tellers; but he was enraged at his brother having been just refused a commission in the Guards. General Burgoyne, who had been so desirous of becoming the Court's instrument in enslaving America, was now a clamourer against grievances. Such patriots disgraced the cause of liberty, and were little preferable to the Ministers. Lord Gower, on the other hand, was gone to Bath, uncertain what part to take. He had left his proxy with the Chancellor, but his son attended the meeting in Westminster Hall.

The same day the Committee of privileges reported that the Duke of Chandos had been proved guilty of a breach of privilege in interfering in the Hampshire election; but Lord Nugent moved for postponing the consideration of the report for four months, which, after a debate, was carried by 87 to 30. The Opposition had rejected a motion against the Duke of Bolton on the same grounds.

Byng moved, and it was ordered, that no Member should presume to go out of town without leave.

At a meeting at Carlisle a much more moderate petition than the rest was voted.

7th. The Duke of Chandos, disappointed of the Government of the Isle of Wight, which, on Stanley's death, was given to Sir Richard Worseley, resigned his command of the Hampshire militia and his Lord-Lieutenancy of the county.[2]

8th. John Wesley, the Methodist, prints a letter in the 'London Chronicle' against the toleration of Popery.

Mr. Smelt used to dine three times a week with the *Prince of Wales*, but the Prince, being told of his speech at York, by Colonel Hotham, did not speak to him, nor let him dine with him any more.

[2] It was said that the King solicited the Duke of Chandos to resume his Lieutenancy, and that he consented.

8*th*. Lord Shelburne's motion announced before Christmas for a Committee of both Houses, consisting of either placemen or pensioners, for inquiring into expenditure of public money. The House sat till just one, but not a fine debate. Lord Caermarthen spoke with applause, and with indignity of being turned out of the Lieutenancy of the Riding of Yorkshire that morning. Many Lords were offended at the affront of omitting placemen. The Opposition had not yet been so strong there, for they amounted to 55; but the motion was rejected by 181.

The same day Sir George Saville presented the Yorkshire petition with great warmth, advised Lord North to use no tricks, and threw out many threats of the resentment of the petitioners. Lord North turned the argument artfully, and said he found the Parliament was to be threatened, and not allowed even to inquire whether there were abuses or not.

Charles Fox finely and wisely explained away Sir George Saville's violence, and used an allusion much admired to the wisdom of Solomon. The ruin of the nation had been laid to the Opposition, but now would be seen who was the real mother of the child. The petition ordered to lie on the table.

9*th*. Lord Pembroke resigned his place in the King's Bedchamber.

"*For the 'Public Advertiser,' February* 10*th*, 1780.

"ON ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

"To Stephen sacred was this House of yore,
And still its inmates the same Saint adore;
By throwing dirt his festival they keep,
And pelted North, like Stephen, falls asleep."

10*th*. The King's Bench fined Stratton and three more, who had been convicted of arresting and imprisoning Lord

Pigott, only 1000*l.* apiece, and to be imprisoned till they should pay it, which they did in Court.

The provocation was much aggravated by the Duke of Portland and two or three other Lords giving the information against a Member of their own House to a Committee at a tavern.

The Ministers were so far from daring to take notice of this outrage in the House of Lords, that, on the Opposition complaining in the House of Commons on the 14th of Lord Hillsborough's speech, Lord Fairford, his son, rose and denied the words imputed to his father.

13*th.* Mr. Edmund Burke made his great speech, in which he opened his plan for the alteration of the Crown's revenue and influence. It lasted three hours and eighteen minutes, and was temperate, moderate, sprinkled with wit and humour, and had such an universal effect on the whole House, that it was thought he could that day have carried any point he had proposed. Lord North himself commended him highly, and agreed to letting the Bill be brought in. The mad Lord George Gordon singly opposed it, and singly divided against the whole House.

12*th.* Accounts from different quarters of Admiral Rodney having taken five Spanish men-of-war, two of which had suffered so much that Rodney's own sailors had been forced to navigate them into Cadiz. The Spanish Admiral was said to have blown up.

14*th.* More petitions presented. Sir George Saville declared he should go further than Mr. Burke, and move for leave to bring in a bill to take away several sinecure places and pensions; Colonel Barré, that he should move for a Committee of Accounts, to facilitate the method of accounting for the expenditure of public money. Lord North said he would assist in it, but impossible during war

to refuse issuing money or to bring it to account immediately. He still insisted that the petitions no more than the protests spoke the sense of counties, only of individuals. Charles Fox congratulated Lord North, ironically, on his being grown so moderate, and was very severe on Lord Hillsborough. Lord Mulgrave very warm against the petitions, and threatened the Opposition if they should go beyond the law. J. Townshend bitter against Lord Hillsborough. Colonel —— as violent against the Duke of Richmond, particularly for surveying the ground in Sussex and for what the Duc de Aiguillon had said to him. The Duke was defended by General Conway and Charles Fox, who laughed at Onslow's being alarmed at one of the King's Generals surveying the coast. Burke then moved for leave to bring in his bills, excepting the Duchy of Cornwall, to which the Prince of Wales, being a minor, could not give his consent.

15*th*. Lord Effingham moved to petition the King to pardon Parker, the printer. Lord Abingdon very severe on Lord Mansfield, comparing the severity to Parker with the gentle fine on Stratton, &c.; but Lord Mansfield persuaded the House to reject the petition.

Sir George Saville moved for a list of patent places granted by the Crown, and pensions. Cornwall objected to the latter, as many were granted to women, but he was overruled. Lord North gave the King's consent to their meddling with his domain. Dunning said it was unparliamentary, but the House might do it with his consent. Speaker taken ill.

Lord Pembroke was removed from the Lieutenancy of Wiltshire, which was given to Lord Ailesbury.

That of Sussex, held by the Duke of Richmond, was offered to the Earl of Ashburnham, Lord Pelham, and

Lord Montacute, who all declined it; and as no Lord in the county would accept it, the King was forced to leave it to the Duke. There was exceeding weakness in this conduct. Some Lords Lieutenants had been removed early in the reign, others, though in Opposition, as the Duke had still been, permitted to keep them. Not two months before this the King had said he could forgive even the Duke of Richmond, and now provoked him anew, ineffectually, and dishonoured himself by not succeeding. It was very unwise too to attempt this in a place without profit. The three Lords would not incur unpopularity for a place that brought in no emoluments.

17*th*. Lord North was beaten at the India House. The proprietors, by a majority of 33, rejected the bargain that the Directors had agreed to make with the Treasury.

The King promised to send the list of patent places, but determined not to give that of pensions. This showed that the true commission was effected by pensions. Patent places make men independent, not dependent, consequently the King did not care if they were taken away; besides, if abolished, the salaries would fall to the King and augment his powers of corruption.

Accounts from Ireland that they were determined to go further. Lord Carysfort had moved for a Mutiny Bill that would take the army out of the King's hands, and they talked of not giving supplies unless certain laws were repealed. It was said, I don't know how truly, that some Presbyterians had risen on Lord Hertford's estate against the Catholics. It is certain that in the northern parts many of the Cromwellian stamp remained among the Dissenters, who had all along favoured the Americans. Lord Shelburne, I believe, much fomented the heats in Ireland, and was much dissatisfied with Burke's plan; and *Barré*

openly agreed with Sir George Saville, who went much farther than Burke. Lord Rockingham certainly disliked the Associations, which he had not been able to form. He had sent down another petition which they had rejected. Mr. Wyenill, an opulent clergyman, and Mr. Mason, the poet, had been the chief promoters of the petition, and were not at all disposed to be governed by Lord Rockingham. In the mean time the Court meditated a dissolution of Parliament; and one reason was, the Tories were afraid of losing their popularity and elections if they rejected the popular questions. This appeared on

The 21*st. Memorable day.* It began in the House of Commons by the Member for Nottingham offering the protests of the six junior members of the corporation. It could not be received as containing no prayer. The Opposition were warm against it and called it libellous, which Lord North answered justly, for surely some were as free to dissent from as others to assent to the petitions. Wedderburn, who defended the protesters, was severely handled for having formerly dipped in remonstrances. Then came on Sir George Saville's motion for list of pensions, which Lord North proposed to restrain to those paid at the Exchequer, and by the paymaster of the pensions. The debate grew very warm, and Lord North was defended alone by the Lord-Advocate and Wedderburn, the latter of whom made an extraordinarily shining speech. Colonel Barré was very personal to the Scots, as Lord North's only supporters. The Lord Advocate asked him *if it was not as honourable to be the King's pensioner as Lord Shelburne's, as Barré notoriously was?* Wedderburn told him he could do nothing but abuse the Scots. Barré replied it *was false,* it *was false.* The Speaker interposed, but had much difficulty to pacify Wedderburn, who was at last

satisfied by Barré's declaring he meant nothing personal. At one in the morning, many Tories having absented themselves, Lord North's amendments were carried by a majority of *only two votes*, 188 to 186, which was equal to a defeat.

24*th*. The Contractors' Bill in the House of Commons. As it had been thrown out with great difficulty the last year, it was likely to pass now; therefore Lord North declared he would not oppose it in that stage. This was avowing weakness. The Court were hoping the Tories would return on any attack on the Crown. The Opposition thence saw it was best to attempt only popular questions, and not too offensive.

Lord Hertford came to me twice and consulted me and his brother what the King could do. We both advised that there should be a total change directly, which alone might prevent civil war. He said the King must ask them first if they meant to reduce prerogative. I said, "I should, my Lord; he must enter into no *definitions;* if asked, they must say yes to what in their hearts they would say no. Let him talk of economy, which is an unlimited term. The error of this reign has been to haul into dispute undefined questions. Everybody knew it, right government should possess a power of general warrants; but when brought into question was found to condemn them, for then the power ceased to be undefined." (?) He wished we could find some middle way; we told him there was no third party. He must try to defend his Administration by force or take the Opposition, and that his Ministers would not dare to be defended. He would expose to public resentment any one he tried to save.

24*th*. Mr. Wyvil had got chosen of the Essex Committee; he at first intended to tack a test for candi-

dates to the petitions. He now got a resolution to summon a *congress* of each chairman and two members of each committee. Lord Roch, Lord John, and Burke and Lee meet again. This and the last said it was illegal. The Cavendishes had kept a petition out of Derbyshire. Lord Frederick Cavendish had not signed the Westminster petition, as too strong for an officer, which shows the army too much attached to the Crown.

The Middlesex Committee at first thanked only Sir George Saville, but afterwards Burke too.

The Courtiers thought the King determined to resist; he had more resources than Charles I., had an army, and religion was not in question. He gave striking proof of his intentions now by giving a regiment to Adam, who fought Charles Fox. His dismissing some Lords Lieutenants was thought to be with the same view; but at last little Court quarrels concurred. Lord Caermarthen had been paying court to the Prince of Wales, and Lord Pembroke had been forgiven before.

Lord Shelburne, who was frequently tampered with by the Chancellor, told him before Christmas, that if the King meant to take the Opposition he must do it then, for if the Committee got head it would then be too late. This was good advice. What makes our Constitution preferable to any other is its being constituted of three powers, King, Lords, and Commons. The wisest way would be, if the two others would always join against the third, that should be most predominant, to keep the balance even. In the last reign the aristocracy preponderated; in this till now, the Crown; now the people.

The Crown had designedly disgraced Parliament to render it its own instrument, but it had taught the people to lose reverence for Parliament; and now the Committees

created themselves into tribunals over Parliament, to whom the people might appeal against Parliament itself.

28*th*. Sir George Rodney's account of his victory arrived. It appeared that he had taken five Spanish ships of the Admiral, and destroyed three, and relieved Gibraltar. The guns were fired.

29*th*. Lord North moved to thank Sir George. Motion for the expenses of the army to be printed. Lord North opposed, but was forced to give it up disgracefully. Burke asked if he meant to try to put off the second reading of his Bill on the 2nd, as had been given out. Lord North said no, but it would demand discussion and inquiry. Rigby affected to talk as independent.

Meeting for a petition summoned in Northumberland, as one had been carried almost universally in Buckinghamshire. Lord Temple declared himself ready to give up his Teller's place if there were a general reform; yet he had not wished the meeting, and had professed not promoting it, but the word *economy* had now captivated almost the whole nation.

Lord Hertford, alarmed at what his brother and I had said to him, told me he had declared to the King that he must send for the Opposition, not a moment was to be lost; and for himself, he could not have anything more to do with the present measures. I applauded and told him nothing but the King's giving up his Ministers would prevent the greatest mischief.

Mr. Charles Fox and Mr. Wyvil almost quarrelled on the latter insisting that no Members of Parliament should be on the deputation of the Committees of petitions. At last it was compromised that it should not be specified as a condition, but that none should be sent.

MARCH.

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2nd. MR. BURKE'S Bill—second reading. Lord North proposed a Commission of Accounts, of which no Members of either House should be. This was not handsome to Colonel Barré, who had moved it. The Ministers had wished to defer committing the Bill for three weeks, but did not dare to venture it. However, on Burke's moving for committing the Bill for next day, they proposed to defer it for a week, and carried it by 230 to 195.

Very unfavourable accounts from Ireland. The Parliament had adjourned to consult the country at the sessions; the army violent for abolishing Poyning's Law and Declar. Act of Geo. I.; Lord Buckingham indolent or paying court to Ireland; Sir Richard Heron the seer very insufficient.

4th. A meeting having been summoned at Maidstone, in Kent, and a petition proposed by Lord Mahon, the Duke of Dorset made a strong opposition. Mr. Milles, Member for Canterbury, always against the Court, declared that he saw such danger in the associations that he could be only for a petition. The Duke then produced a moderate one, but, great confusion arising, each was signed by the different parties.

It was true advertisements had been issued from the Westminster meeting for deputations of three persons from each Committee to meet at the St. Alban's Tavern, and their great capital points were to be economy, an equal representation, and short Parliaments. These two last were

not corrections of the Constitution, but trying experiments in the midst of three wars.

5th. Account of Admiral Digby being arrived at Plymouth, and having met a French convoy going to Mauritius with three East Indiamen, and two 69-gun ships with 12,000 louis. He had taken one of the 69-guns with half the specie, two Indiamen, and three frigates.[1]

6th. Lord Shelburne moved for inquiring into the dismission of Lord Caermarthen and Lord Pembroke against Lords Lieutenants. It was rejected by a majority of 56 to 31; a protest followed, and the Duke of Devonshire spoke for the first time. The same day Lord North opened the Budget, and declared, as taxes on brewing had proved deficient, he would propose very general though unpopular taxes. Early in the day he had been accused by Temple Luttrell of having been guilty of corruption at Milbourn Port, which he said he desired to have proved.

8th. Lord George Gordon moved to abolish Auditor and Tellers, which *Lord North said ought to be lessened;* but the motion was withdrawn. Then sat the Committee on Burke's Bill; but Rigby previously surprised everybody by stating a question which he said he had communicated to nobody, and did not know if, consistent with the orders of the House, could then be moved. It was whether the House could meddle with the Civil List, which had been given to the King for life, and which he had purchased by cession of certain rights. This embarrassed North

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[1] The poet laureate this year professed to hold at small value the hostile power of France. In the 'New Year's-day Ode' the versificator says,—

"She" (France) "bears the ensigns of the God,
But not his delegated power,"—

which may remind the reader of a similar but grander image in Dryden (in the 'Annus Mirabilis'):—

"Till now alone the mighty nations strove—
The rest at gaze without the lists did stand;
And threat'ning France, placed like a painted Jove,
Kept idle thunder in his lifted hand."

—D.

and the Ministers; the Attorney-General and Mansfield moved that it could not be defended absolutely, but endeavoured to avoid it by calling for the question. Fox, Burke, Conway, and others would not allow that the right of the House could be doubted, and declared, if denied, they would appeal to the people. Rigby said he would not be coaxed nor intimidated; he ridiculed the petitioners, and said he should be glad if the method of passing his accounts were facilitated. The Ministers carried the points of not having Rigby's question put by only 205 to 199. Rigby voted in the minority, his friends with the Court; the Dundases and some few Tories in the minority. Then the House sat till past two on the third Secretary of State, and saved him by only 208 to 201. They had apprehended being beaten on that question as the strongest against them, from the evident inutility of a Secretary for America when it was lost, and from the unpopularity of Lord George Germaine; Norton, the Speaker's son, one of Lord Bute's sons, and Viner, who also spoke, and who three years ago had offered 15*s.* in the pound, voted in the minority.

Accounts from Ireland that they were still more pleased with the permission of trading with the colonies than with the first bill for Free Trade. The Duke of Leinster and Conolly spoke and recommended strongly gratitude to England, yet the spirit kept up for altering Poyning's Law, and for a counter Declaratory Act of their own independence.

13*th.* Another *memorable day*, the Court losing its majority on Burke's Bill on the question of the Board of Trade, which at two o'clock in the morning was voted useless by 207 against 199. There was an episode that day scarce less remarkable. Sir Edward Deering, a foolish

Kentish Knight in opposition, having attacked Mr. Rigby on his late doctrine of the Crown's unalienable revenue, and the latter having defended himself, Charles Fox protested against such an unparliamentary declaration, and said he would appeal to the highest authority, the Speaker. This was probably incorrect, or at least Sir Fletcher declaimed against that doctrine of Rigby to Fox; for on this appeal the Speaker came down from the gallery, and made a warm and good speech against the increased influence of the Crown, and in favour of the petitions, though he condemned the associations. But then he broke out into the most extravagant and profligate rhapsody that perhaps was ever heard in that place, accusing Lord North of duplicity, and professing himself his personal enemy on the grounds of a story that he had the impudence and absurdity to tell, with as little modesty in the high estimation at which he rated himself. He acquainted the House that the Duke of Grafton, when Minister, had offered him the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre and the Speakership, with a promise of the best place in the law that should become vacant, without which, as he thought himself at the head of his profession, he would not quit his business. He asserted that Lord North had been privy to this bargain, and yet had broken it, by offering a large pecuniary bribe to Lord Chief Justice de Grey to quit that post in favour of Wedderburn. So far was true, that Lord North had made the offer: the Chief Justice demanded 10,000*l.*; Wedderburn would not pay the money, and expected the Treasury should, and expected a peerage besides. Norton had learnt the bargain before concluded, and had threatened to impeach Lord North if he gave the public money for that purpose—but how gross in him, when talking for economy on the ground of the petitions, to complain of the breach

of a job in which he himself was originally the person to be corrupted! Lord North denied being tied by his predecessor's bargain—went farther, and denied his knowledge of it, in which few believed him, and still less did they believe Wedderburn, who denied knowing anything of the money-part of the corruption. The dialogue degenerated into Billingsgate between Lord North and Sir Fletcher Norton. Many of the Tories left the Court on the question of the Board of Trade, which Eden, one of the Commissioners, defended, and was well ridiculed by Burke, who called them a nest of crows with one nightingale in it.

Charles Fox was severe on Gibson, who was brought down in a fit of the gout to vote, as all the Board did, though in their own cause, except Soame Jenyns, who retired.

15*th*. Lord North opened his taxes, which were an additional duty on malt, and ditto on wine, spirits, brandy, and rum; on exported coals, on salt, on new stamps and licences to tea-dealers. They were voted.

16*th and* 17*th* were wasted on a charge brought by Temple Luttrell against Lord North for buying the next elections at Milbourne Port from Mr. Medlicott, the proprietor of the estate. This was a dirty accusation, as Luttrell only complained because he thought he had agreed with Medlicott for the next election for himself. He could bring no proofs home to Lord North, and the charge was voted groundless.

The Committees of Association began to give great alarm. They voted themselves a right of considering and deciding on questions pending in Parliament, and of censuring or approving the part taken by particular Members. But they were going much farther still, and were for engrafting

on petitions two resolutions of the highest moment—one, that there ought to be a more equal, consequently a new, mode of representation; the other, that there should be frequent Parliaments—at first, triennial Parliaments. Lord Shelburne was against that, and Charles Fox spoke against it at the Westminster Committee; but it is likely that the Committees will be even for annual Parliaments. In the first place it will be very unfair to engraft new matter on the petitions. They who voted for a petition for economy, may not approve of a new mode of representation, nor of more frequent Parliaments. Some no doubt signed the petitions from a desire of popularity. Both descriptions, if they will not subscribe to the additional articles, will lose their popularity, and become unpopular.

In the next place, it is unwise to add new matter. It was the necessity of economy, which every man felt, that produced so great a change against the Court, and so much unanimity. The two others are very problematic questions, and will sow difference of opinion and dissension, instead of compacting unanimity, and drawing in the rest of the nation. The present torrent would bear down, has borne down, the influence of the Court; but if a torrent is divided into three channels, not one of the three will carry a great mass of tide along with it. Perhaps it was not wise at first to announce publicly a design of reducing the influence of the Crown, which was likely to shock the principles of the Tories, at least; though they have shown that interest is their only principle, for they have abandoned the cause of the Crown the moment they felt the diminution of their own estates.

The question of shortening Parliaments must offend many; and though they may be hurried away by the first

sound, the people will not like it, for their votes will be worth nothing.

The alteration of the mode of election would give deeper offence. All men who have interest by landed estates, and much more they who have burgage tenures, must be strongly against such a change. It has been talked that they should be indemnified; it would be an excellent way of complying with the petitions for economy to raise so vast a fund as would indemnify those proprietors!

But though an equal representation is a free and just proposition in theory, it is by no means advisable to have recourse to it, especially at the risk of great disagreement of opinion.

Five hundred and sixty-five Members are an arbitrary number; but in the best times they answered the purposes of good government. The end of good government, in the most extensive view, is to make a nation happy, rich, and glorious. In happiness I include liberty. The House of Commons, constituted and chosen as it is at present, concurred with the King and House of Lords in answering all these ends in the last reign; and if the happiest and best period is selected, that was it, and consequently the best form to be preserved. If that form has been altered, restore it, instead of trying to make it better. The nation and every man in it thinks himself represented by the 565, when they are chosen; nor have the people complained of not having more equal share in the choice of their representatives. Were the nation equally divided into 565 districts, and every man in each district was to have a vote for the representative of that district, would not all think themselves represented?—but do not they think

so at present when the 565 are chosen by the present, however unequal, methods. Has not every individual some Member for a county or borough to whom he can give remonstrance, petition, or instruction?

I allow that, by several wars and by the taxes consequential of those wars, the Crown has acquired too great influence; but the corruption of the whole nation, the servility of the nobility and gentry, the consequences of their extravagance, have aided the Crown in extending its influence. Alterations of the Constitution have been made in the present reign, and greater, I firmly believe, were intended, had the American war succeeded to the wish of the Court. But the enormous expense incurred by that war, and the unnecessary profusion that accompanied it, producing no success—on the contrary, producing disappointments, disgraces, losses, and distresses—and the majority in Parliament upholding the insolence of the Court and Ministers, opened *at last* the eyes of the nation, and combined the present body of Opposition without doors. What then ought to be done? Economy ought to be enforced. It can only be enforced effectually by getting out of the American war. But the present spirit of the people ought to be employed to other purposes too, though it has already certainly had one good effect—it has checked the career of the Ministerial profusion, who would have gone on with their waste if the country had not put in its caveat.

Still I am convinced the nation is not yet unanimous against the Court. Twelve English counties have sent us petitions; not one Scotch county, and only two of the Welsh. The counties of Northumberland and Cumberland rejected petitions; those of Norfolk, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Huntingdon, and Hertfordshire have signed protests against

the petitions, or sent to others more moderate, or rejected Associations. The conduct then, I think, to have been pursued was, to urge economy and any popular object that was not a theme of speculation and dissension. Nor ought threats to have been used towards the House of Commons, because the only constitutional remedies can come from Parliament. Whatever is obtained by menace or violence will not be permanent. The prerogative party are stunned, not converted, and every violence they complain of will preserve their friends, or reclaim those that have deserted. By pursuing economy and other established constitutional points with temper and moderation, all the dissenting counties might be drawn into the general sense against the Court. Were the great mass of the nation unanimous, they would have opportunity, in a year's time, of choosing a very different House of Commons; and that House of Commons would force the King to change his Administration; and a new Administration, not agreeable to the Court, obliged to the people and depending on them for support, would correct abuses; and then whatever was obtained would be obtained Parliamentarily and would be durable.

The great object of the nation, and of the present Opposition, ought to be to restore the Constitution to what it was as established at the Revolution. Abuses enough have crept in, and the influence of the Crown has increased enough to find full and long employment for those who are its friends, if they can obtain the power of amending the grievances that have arisen.

But surely, surely it would be wise to restore the Constitution before we try experiments on it. For instance, the destruction of American charters, and the enacting military governments there, to the abolition of juries, is a

flagrant and more crying deviation from the Constitution than any faults of the old Constitution. Cornish boroughs are not, cannot be more venal than they were in our happiest days—the last reign. I defend not Cornish boroughs, or many burgage tenures where scarce a house exists, as at Old Sarum and Castle Rising; but I would deprecate attempts that will disunite the nation when union is essential. Annual Parliaments and alteration of the modes of election will shock numbers, I should think almost all lawyers; and as for annual Parliaments, I should think they would destroy all possibility of government. If it remained an object to get into Parliament, the frequency of election would keep the nation in a state of tumult, faction, and drunkenness. If it did not, the House of Commons would sink into disesteem, and only meet to grant money, while the King and House of Lords, or the King and Privy Council, would be the efficient Governments. What evils a new mode of representation would produce nobody can foresee, for nobody can tell what mode will be fixed upon.

In fine, I am for restoring the Constitution to what it was when it made us the happiest, wisest, and most glorious people that we ever were, and not from admiring the identical form (which has grown by accident, and not from any preconceived system), but for the effects it produced. The nation might be led to co-operate in restoring it, and all men would be pleased with it when so restored, except the Crown and a few of its partisans, or a few ambitious, who would blame in order to raise themselves by affecting patriotism. On the contrary, subvert the established forms, and great clamour would arise, and every evil produced by the change (and I suppose nobody is vain enough to hope to invent a system liable to no objections);

would appear aggravated by comparison. The very spirit that has arisen proves, that, however weakened the Constitution, it still retains energy enough to assert itself, and I hope to produce reformation. If it does, that Constitution is good enough that when at its perfection made us so happy, rich, and great; and when impaired, could by its own vigour redress itself. I have said nothing of the signal impropriety of attempting experiments at a moment when we are at war with America, France, and Spain, and when we are in danger of seeing Ireland separate itself from this country. Alas! it is unhappy that by the enormities of the Court, and the incapacity of our present *Governors*, the nation should be forced to enter into discussions, the very attention to which doubles our danger; for when the Opposition think of nothing but vanquishing the Court, the Court can think of nothing but defending itself at home. No plans can be formed for abroad, nor does either side think of attaching or defending the country from France. Everybody felt the danger we were in last summer from the incapacity of the Commander-in-Chief and of the chief Admiral. Great information was collected from Lord Amherst's neglect of Plymouth, and a charge against him was threatened in Parliament—yet all is as much forgotten as if events of the last war.

Apropos to all I have said, I will set down some advice I gave several years ago (in a situation a little parallel) to a celebrated French lawyer, M. Elie de Beaumont, a warm advocate for liberty. He showed me the speech of the Advocate-General of the Parliament of Aix, and asked me if I did not approve of it. I replied, "Sir, this speech is stronger against the King and Church than would have been hazarded in the first year of the Civil War against our Charles I. You attack the Crown and Church, who

are supported by the nobility and an army of 200,000 men; and you have no strength but an imaginary Parliament, that is not popular, and the sect of authors at Paris who call themselves philosophers. You trust to the indolence of your King, who loves his ease, and will bear a good deal rather than engage in what would give him any trouble. But by announcing your design of lowering the Crown and crushing the clergy, you provoke the latter to engage the King to crush you, which he can do in a moment by the army. Be more moderate; obtain whatever little you can from the King's disposition, and it will be a permanent service to your country. In time you may open the eyes of the nation more by your writings; and if you can make an impression *on the nobility*, and through them on the army, you may in time obtain more benefits for your country; but by aiming at too much, you will lose all."

So it happened: the Chancellor Maupeou, supported by the King's mistress, prevailed on him to crush the Parliament and become despotic; and so the Kings of France would have remained, if that King had not died, and his successor had not happened to take new Ministers, who happened to choose to restore the old Constitution.

21*st*. Mr. Jenkinson proposing to lay some army estimates before the House, Mr. Fullerton, a young Scot, who had been secretary to Lord Stormont at Paris, and had lately been made colonel of a new raised regiment, rose and broke out on what had been lately said on that occasion in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne, who, he said, had called him *commis and clerk*, though the former might recollect that his own brother, Lord George Lennox, had been his secretary at Paris. But he was much more warm and abusive on Lord Shelburne, who had said that the new regiments were

to be employed in *buccaneering*, and might be used so against the Constitution. Fullerton added that the Earl must have known the falsehood of his accusations, and the person he meant was the Earl of Shelburne.

Here he was called to order by Charles Fox for *naming* persons and for referring to debates of another House. Mr. Rigby said he was surprised to hear Mr. Fox make those objections, who was so apt to do the same, and had named Lord Hillsborough for what he had said in the other House. Colonel Barré defended his friend Lord Shelburne, and hinted that Mr. Fullerton had better seek satisfaction out of the House. Others took part on one side or the other. Fullerton rose again, and talked of Lord Shelburne's *aristocratic insolence*; but he was again interrupted, and the order of the day called for.

The Contractors' Bill was then read the third time, and the Ministry suffered it to pass without a division.

The Speaker then made an apology for his late indecent behaviour, but maintained the truth of what he had asserted. He said he knew how much he had been abused in newspapers for what he had said, but that he despised them, and only desired to excuse himself to the House.

The Committee then sat on Burke's Bill and on that part relating to the household; but he gave up the idea of furnishing it by contract. Lord Nugent spoke against the Bill, and said he despised discretion. Lord George Gordon replied that generally men adopt discretion when they have lost their vigour and memory as his Lordship seemed to have; and Lord Nugent having expressed his fears that Mr. Burke would, like Jack in the 'Tale of the Tub,' tear the cloth as well as the lace, Lord George said Mr. Burke (who had been a Catholic and zealous for their toleration) was not likely to tear that coat. General

Conway objected to parts of Burke's plan, particularly that part that was to take away the Board of Ordnance. At past one in the morning the clauses affecting the household were thrown out by 211 to 158, *the Court thus recovering its majority.* The Attorney-General saying the House was to sit only to register Mr. Burke's edicts, Mr. Dempster said so it had sat only to register Ministerial edicts—the edict for the American war, then an edict for peace with America, and then another edict for renewing the war. He said they were reproached with wanting to take away the revenue they had given to the King, but all was a bargain, and either side might complain if the bargain was too hard. The King had complained and twice asked payment of his debts, and the nation had paid them. Now the nation was grown poor, and complained that the bargain was grown too hard on them. This was a negotiation, and the King would be at liberty to ratify or reject it.

22*nd.* Mr. Fullerton sent a letter *unsealed* from the House of Commons to Lord Shelburne, and a duplicate of it by a servant, the latter of which was delivered to him just as Lady Shelburne had left the room, and his own servant said, "My Lord, here is a letter from Mr. Fullerton that requires an immediate answer." It contained the account Mr. F. had had printed that morning in the 'Public Advertiser,' and added what he had intended to have said if not interrupted. This was couched in the grossest terms, and called Lord Shelburne's conduct insolence, cowardice, and falsehood, and, with as much indiscretion as brutality, he asked if such conduct became a leader of the Opposition, who, as *he had heard at Paris,* was in correspondence with the enemies of his country. This was supposed to mean Dr. Franklin, but was very

imprudent on Lord Stormont's account, who, if informed of *treasonable correspondence* (which, however, with Franklin was not so), ought to have accused Lord Shelburne. His Lordship replied, no other answer was proper than to desire Mr. F. to meet him next morning in Hyde Park at five o'clock.

23*rd*. They met there, as appointed; Lord Shelburne's second was Lord Frederick Cavendish, with whom he had served at St. Malo's and St. Cas in the last war—Mr. F.'s was Lord Balcarras. Fullerton fired first, then the Earl, both without effect. Fullerton again, and wounded Lord Shelburne in the groin, but slightly, as he fired his pistol in the air. Lord Frederick asking if Mr. F. was satisfied; Lord Balcarras said, "If his Lordship would say he had meant no affront." Lord Shelburne said it was too late for that, and that he was able to renew the engagement, but both seconds said it was sufficient, and it was agreed the affair should end there.

It was remarkable that Lord Shelburne had *not* used the words *clerk and commis*, and had only said that he would not use the term commis, with which he had offended Mr. Eden.

24*th*. Mr. Burke took notice of the duel in the House; and Sir J. Lowther talked of making a motion against duels on speeches, as hindering the freedom of debate. Mr. Adam lamented his duel with Mr. Fox. Mr. Rigby said it was impossible to prevent them where men thought their honour affected, but it was always wrong to mention names. Fox declared warmly that he would not be precluded from the freedom of debate, and that, when the Extraordinaries of the army should come on, he would name Mr. Fullerton if he found it necessary. Sir J. Lowther said he would not insist on his motion then, but desired

Mr. Fullerton's friends to acquaint him, that he intended to make a passing inquiry into that affair—probably the case of the regiment, and not of the duel.

Byng and others would have put off the report of the taxes till the petitions had been considered, and Byng threw out threats of taking up arms if the petitions were not granted. General Conway took notice of the indecency of such threats, and made such impression, that Byng dividing the House for putting off the taxes, the motion was rejected by 145 to 37, and the taxes passed.

The House then adjourned to the 4th of April, for the Easter holidays. Fullerton being a Scot, as well as Adam, renewed much national animosity. For the first time such a thing ever happened, the Committee of the Common Council of London sent to inquire how Lord Shelburne did. But a more serious business came on. The Congress, as the Court called it, on the deputation of the Committees, issued from the St. Alban's Tavern a memorial signed by Mr. Wyvil recommending the associations to insist on annual Parliaments, and a new mode of representation, with the addition of not less than one hundred Members, and engagements from candidates to promote these terms, though, at the end, they rather waived annual Parliaments till the other points should be obtained. Lord Mahon, an abstracted young man, had chiefly carried this. The memorial was drawn by Mr. A. Bromley, was obscure, bombast, and futile; was ill written as possible. Another similar but much shorter letter was issued from the Westminster Committee, but ridiculous too, for it was signed by Sheridan, junior, a most dissipated young man, overwhelmed with debts, manager of the theatre in Drury Lane, but then Under-Chairman of that Committee.

In Mr. Wyvil's memorial thirteen counties were named

as agreeing to their deputies; but Cheshire, one named, had sent no deputies. Lord Ossory, though an intimate friend of Charles Fox and brother-in-law of Lord Shelburne, could not be prevailed on to send any from Bedfordshire.

Previous to the meeting at Cambridge for a petition, for which Dr. Watson, who had lately printed a very sensible Whig sermon on the Fast, had eminently distinguished himself, the Court party in the University reprinted a sermon which he had preached when the Duke of Grafton was Minister, in which were very opposite sentiments, and, dispersing it as he appeared at the meeting, he was much confounded.

28*th.* The report was made to the Committee at York, when they agreed to the plan of St. Alban's Tavern, except in *triennial* Parliaments instead of annual. They agreed to demand one hundred additional Knights, to reform the mode of election, and to pursue bribery at elections, and now, *for the first time,* agreed to demand cessation of the American war. This plan they printed and distributed, but coloured with great professions of moderation and legality, and mixed no threats. Sir George Saville said his mind was not made up to shorten Parliaments and an addition of one hundred Members, but would come into them if his constituents pleased. Lord John Cavendish spoke strongly against those two articles, and neither he nor Lord George signed the association.

Lord Shelburne published a long letter to the Wiltshire Committee, with a list of the grievances and refusals of the winter; but it had so little effect that the Committee broke up without adopting the association.

Reports of Sir Henry Clinton being lost—false.

APRIL.

LEICESTERSHIRE rejected the association, and so did the Committee of Northampton.

4th. The House of Commons met again after the recess. Sir James Lowther presented a petition with 3000 names from Cumberland, and used many threats, as of refusing taxes, if their demand was not granted. The House then went on the new raised regiments, one of which was Fullerton's. Great complaints were made on them and the refusals to Lord Derby and other English who had offered to raise regiments, and on the partiality to the Scots, in which Charles Fox joined warmly. The Lord Advocate answered him severely, and reproached him with his change of principles. The regiments were carried by 102 votes to 66. Very warm altercation between Mr. Fox and Colonel Holroyd.

5th. Another very memorable day. In the morning Charles Fox harangued the petitioners of Westminster in the Hall, and was exceedingly severe on the King and present reign, and declared loudly for annual Parliaments and the additional 100 Knights, which were eagerly adopted by the assembly—(see particulars in the public prints). The Court had expected that Fox would be attended to the House by a great mob, and the Guards were ordered to be in readiness, but he went privately as usual, and there was not the least tumult.

The Committee of the House of Commons thence commenced on the petitions—nearly forty from counties and

towns were piled on the table signed by thousands of names. Mr. Dunning opened the debate by a motion that threw the Courtiers into the highest astonishment; the words were, "*That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.*"[1] The Ministers were greatly embarrassed, and had no subterfuge but their old hackneyed evasion, which could only serve in times when they were paramount, of trying the previous question, which not being admitted in a Committee (for no earthly good reason), they recurred to its tantamount of the Chairman's leaving the chair, too notoriously implying they did not mean to comply with the petitions—but this was not a moment to endure such poor shifts. They had had not only a fortnight's notice of the importance of the day, but a fortnight's recess to prepare some very plausible manœuvre against it. It is true they knew not what the motions would be, and could not well expect as yet so home an attack on the prerogative. Perhaps their wisest preparative would have been to declare a general intention of complying as far as possible with the requests of the petitioners. This could not be an answer to make to the motion produced, but to that I should think the most prudent method would have been to have proposed an amendment of the question by the sole and simple addition

[1] The influence of the Crown was especially increased through the creation of new peerages; and this particular influence was as unpopular, as the reckless creation of peers was esteemed at once ridiculous and unconstitutional. It had other results, not then foreseen. Prince Dolgorouki, in his 'Handbook of the Principal Families in Russia,' laments the facility with which the sons of rich merchants were ennobled, for military or civil services. These sons, he says, disgraced their honest fathers, and despised their honourable commercial vocations. A writer in the *Athenæum* (Oct. 16, 1858), referring to this passage, adds, "The English saw something like this during the last generation. The great rush of new peerages in George the Third's time brought forth among other fruits that increased exclusiveness, that idiotic contempt for 'Bloomsbury,' that apotheosis of the 'genteel' and 'fashionable' worlds, which has left its mark on Hook's novels and the whole light literature of the age."—D.

of the word if—if the influence has increased, it ought to be diminished. That sole amendment might have gained some candid men, or some who wished to vote with them, which were many, though fear of their elections swayed them—yet the plea would have been plausible; and could the Court have gained it, it would have procured time to examine into and prove the affirmative, or, if lost, it was being beaten on decent and moderate ground. But the Ministry, like the Jesuits, seemed to have lost their understandings when they had most occasion for them; and Lord North, supported only by his two Scotch champions, Wedderburn and the Lord Advocate, was not able to combat such numerous and violent attacks. The Lord Advocate at last produced a paltry palliative by adding to the question, *It is necessary to declare that the influence*, to which he said he meant to give his negative; but instead of dividing on whether those words should stand part of the question, as Dundas expected would be the case, Charles Fox said he had no objection to the words, and, they being admitted, Dunning's motion, after a very hot debate, was carried at midnight by 233 to 215. Lord North conducted himself the whole day with little ability, and lost his temper entirely on a severe attack of Thomas Pitt, who had never spoken nearly so well; and being lately returned from Italy, whither he had gone for his health, described how different his feelings had been from his former journey, when he had gloried in his country's glory, but now had only blushed for its disgraces. Accusing Lord North as author of the loss of America, the latter took it up warmly; on which Pitt replied, that he had not attacked him on his conduct in Parliament, where he knew it was able, nor in private life, where he knew it was amiable, but as a Minister who had lost our colonies and commerce, as a financier

who produced taxes that produced nothing, and as a legislator who had not preserved one ally. Lord North then lost all temper and patience, said he had the confidence of the nation (though it seemed to have greatly deserted him), and fell outrageously on the Opposition, saying they meant to ruin the Constitution. These words occasioned a very great tumult, and the Opposition called for having the words taken down, and it was some time before the uproar was quieted. Dunning then moved that it was competent to that House to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the Civil List revenues, &c. This was an assertion against Rigby, who affected to make a jocose speech, but not friendly to Lord North, and said it was a new curiosity to see a Minister in a minority. Burke replied it was a curiosity for the Museum, and went on with a suite of ideas in that strain with much wit, but observed that Rigby seemed to be in better humour of late, though beaten, than he had been for the last two years. This was pointed at his enmity to Lord North. The question was voted, and another moved by G. Pitt, that it was the duty of the House to produce immediate redress to the grievances mentioned in the petitions. Charles Fox then, so late, and though very unusual, moved to report the motions directly to the House. Lord North exclaimed loudly against such proceedings, as violent, arbitrary, and unusual. General Conway replied, that reports were generally deferred because Committees were often thin, but there never was likely to be a fuller House than at the present moment. Lord North said he had expected, when Conway rose, that his candour would have interposed; but he saw candour was not to be depended upon. In the course of the debate, the Opposition were told of the late disagreements at York, but they chose to be silent. The

abandoned Speaker spoke again in Opposition: but such renegades are a scandal to any cause; nor do I admire Mr. G. Pitt's patriotism. He had been the tool of Mr. Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act, and most bitter against his uncle, Lord Chatham, of whom he now boasted, and he affected to give up his borough of Old Sarum, though he was a very interested man.[2] It should be said, too, that he had done some very noble and generous things by his family, but he had coupled much dirt with his liberality. Lord North had certainly deserted Mr. Grenville, but had made it up with him; but having neglected Mr. G. Pitt when he served others of Mr. Grenville's friends, no wonder the original author of our breach with America was passed over in silence, and Lord North substituted in his place.

The event of this memorable day was a complete answer to the new propositions of annual Parliaments, of 100 additional Knights, and of altering the modes of election. It was very plain that, if the people would act with spirit, their representatives would be forced to comply with them.

The obstinacy of maintaining the Administration seems to be explained by an indiscretion of the Lord Advocate; and Ministers saying to him that the Opposition would retract, Dundas replied, *We must not let them* retract. This looked[3] exceedingly like the conduct held to America at the beginning of the war, and as if the Court hoped for a civil war; though I do not think their success in America ought to have encouraged them to resort to force.

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[2] Two years after published a pamphlet against altering the mode of representation.

[3] Dundas might have another meaning; and from his subsequent conduct it is probable he had. He and Rigby had projected a change; and Dundas gave the alarm at the end of the year. When a change happened in consequence Dundas took on with the new Ministers.

10*th.* The Committee on petitions against Dunning moved that the first day of every session exact accounts should be laid before Parliament of all moneys paid out of the Civil List to Members of Parliament. Lord North suffered this motion to pass without a division. Dunning then moved to exclude the Cofferer, Treasurer of Household and Chambers, and ten other officers from sitting in the House. This was opposed, but carried on a division by only two, 215 to 213: Mr. North, Sir Grey Cooper, and Burrell, were shut out on the Court side, and Meynel of the Opposition.

11*th.* More debate on Fullerton's, &c., regiments; much complaint of the ill-usage of *T: Grenville, Lord Temple's brother, who had been 'driven out of the army,* and much censure on Lord Amherst.

Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire rejected Mr. Wyvil's Articles. He had behaved infamously to Lord John Cavendish, having written to him, and promised not to attempt those Articles till real grievances were redressed; yet when Lord John went to York, Wyvil kept him and Sir George Saville shut up in a room by themselves, while the Articles were settled by the Committee there. This pragmatic parson, who now wanted to impose subscriptions and engagements on candidates, had been the instigator of the attempt to take off subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.

12*th.* The new bill for disqualifying officers of Revenue from voting at elections was opposed on the second reading by the Administration, who rejected the commitment by 226 to 195. This was recovering a considerable majority for that time. The Tories certainly began to repent having gone so far with the Opposition, though only for fear of their elections; and some of the Opposition,

the Whigs, voted against the bill, as many of their voters were officers of Revenue.

At this time the Empress of Russia declared, in concert with other Powers, against suffering their ships to be visited.

13*th*. The House of Lords threw out the Contractors' Bill, which had passed the Commons, by 57 to 41. This was a bold step of the Court, but was probably encouraged by the late majority in the Commons. Lord Hillsborough, as usual, was so indiscreet as to say the present spirit was *virtue run mad*.

The same day Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the Commons, was so ill that he declared from the Chair he could not go on. Lord North pretended to be concerned, and pressed the House to give him time to recover; and he seemed to be a little softened, though his friends said he had resolved never to come into the House more. However, the House immediately adjourned from that day, Friday, to the Monday se'nnight.

It was suspected that there was some treachery in this, as Dunning opened the matter by asking the Speaker if he was not ill. His late behaviour and the frequent treacheries he had been guilty of made it very probable; yet it is doubtful whether his indisposition was most timely to the Court or the Opposition. The Court wanted time and delay, and the rejection of the Contractors' Bill would have raised an immediate flame, which ten days might at least abate. On the other hand, the next was a Newmarket week, whither several of the young patriots would have gone, not being under authority like the Court pensioners; and others of them wanted to be present at the Committees of their counties, which were then to meet.

14*th*. Twenty-nine Lords protested on the rejection of the Contractors' Bill. The county of Cheshire put an end

to its Committee, instead of adopting an association or the new articles.

18*th.* Proclamation in the 'Gazette' to dissolve the alliance with the Dutch on their making no reply to Sir Joseph York's peremptory and definite memorial.

24*th.* The Speaker returned to the House and said he would continue to do his duty as long as he could, though against the advice of his physicians. Dunning then made his intended motion to address against dissolution or prorogation of Parliament till the grievances in the petitions were redressed. The motion was rejected towards midnight by 254 to 203; most of the Tories who had deserted to the Opposition returning to vote with the Court, particularly Sir Roger Newdigate, who had owned he hated the Opposition, but preferred knaves to fools. Charles Fox abused them after the division, and said the House had broken its promise to the petitioners, and it would be better to secede; but his friend Dunning would try one question more. Dunning moved to adjourn the Committee for a week, that he might consider coolly what he should do, but was not sure he should try anything further then.

Advice from Ireland that the repeal of Poyning's Law had been rejected by a majority of thirty in that House of Commons.

25*th.* The Westminster Association voted any Minister who should advise prorogation or dissolution of Parliament before the House of Commons fulfilled their promise of diminishing influence and correcting other abuses, is an enemy to his country. Resolved also, that if any additional burthens are laid before such redress, there will be reason to apprehend that the promise will be evaded.

The same day the Duke of Richmond moved for an inquiry into the late state of Plymouth, and urged that

Sir David Lindsay had resigned his command there because Lord Amherst would give no answer or attention to his representations on the weakness of the place. Lord Stormont complained that such an inquiry would expose too much to the enemy; and dropping that there was too much intercourse with the enemy, Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Richmond took it up warmly, and pressed the Viscount to declare on his honour if he knew of any traitorous correspondence with the enemy, as the Court had sedulously given out they had. Lord Stormont would make no answer; but they would not let him off for a silence that would have confirmed the suspicion: they pressed him, dared and defied him; and the Duke taxed the Ministers for paying for such slanders; and he particularly named the author (Bates) of the 'Morning Post,' a miscreant, he said, whom he despised and whose calumnies he laughed at, till he had accused him of treason. Now he had prosecuted him for a libel on equal ground, not taking advantage as a peer. Lord Stormont was at last forced to say, pitifully, that he had meant no accusation. The inquiry was rejected with proxies by 92 to 51.

26*th*. Account of Sir H. Clinton being landed near Charles Town; but finding a garrison there of 9000 men, had sent to New York for 2900 men more.

28*th*. Mr. Burke's Bill again. Clause for abolishing the Wardrobe rejected by 210 to 162; and then, that for abolishing Board of Works by 203 to 188. On one of these debates, Lord George Gordon took notice that the rejection of the Contractors' Bill had made no impression—it was very true—not the least; nor had the Opposition had the art and industry to raise a flame. Charles Fox had been at Newmarket instead of applying to it; and the

country took no notice of it. The petitions had been artfully set on foot by Messrs. Wyvil and Mason, at York; had been promoted in some other counties by some of the leaders; but did not seem at all to proceed from a general spirit of dissatisfaction or party.

MAY.

1*st*. THE House of Commons sat till past three in the morning on Lord North's Commissioners of Accounts, when he gave up one of them, and carried Sir Guy Carleton by 195 to 172.

6*th*. General Conway moved for a bill for pacifying America. He had long meditated his plan, and had communicated it both to the Administration and Opposition. The former would not explain their intentions to him; the others were but part for it. Hartley intended to move for the recall of the troops, and Sir George Saville wished to have that plan preferred. Charles Fox supported Conway warmly, but Lord George Germaine and Lord North opposed it, and even T. Pitt. Eden[1] moved for the previous question, and it was carried by 123 to 81. Conway was very severe on the bench of Bishops for dipping so deep in blood, and Charles Fox much more so.

As the Irish magistrates would not obey the English Mutiny Bill, the Irish patriots proposed one of their own, which greatly distressed Government; for, on one hand,

[1] Lord North was much inclined to adopt Conway's measure; and Sir Grey Cooper pressed him to it, but he gave way to Eden. Rigby was for it, too, and went away because he would not vote against it.

they had in effect no Mutiny Bill; on the other, it was throwing off the English one.

The Irish had also laid a new duty on port wine; the Portuguese determined to prohibit Irish linens. The English Ministers complained to Pinto, the Portuguese Minister; he said the Irish were independent, and his master was in no alliance with them.

One Tandy, of the Duke of Leinster's regiment, had been mutinous on the deferring the repeal of Poyning's Law. The Duke threatened to break him; the corps petitioned for him; the Duke persisted and dismissed the man. Forty of his comrades resigned.

8*th*. Motion in the Commons for inquiry into the order given on the 6th of April to the Guards to be in readiness: rejected, after a debate, by 133 to 91.

Same day, Sawbridge moved for triennial Parliaments. Burke declared strongly against it, and said he desired his constituents should know his opinion. Fox for it. Rejected by 182 to 91.

Great dissensions at this time on that question between Lord Shelburne and Burke.

11*th*. Hartley's motion for peace with America put off on account of the thinness of the House.

17*th*. Sir Charles Hardy died suddenly at Portsmouth.

18*th*. House of Commons: Burke's bill; two clauses rejected; he said he would divide no more. Admiral Barrington, though pressed in the strongest manner, and with the largest offers, refused to take the command of the fleet. It was given to Admiral Gray, an old officer, who had not been at sea for twenty years.

24*th*. Account from Admiral Rodney of his late engagement with the French fleet; both sides suffered a good deal. The French retired, and Rodney, by the

bad behaviour of some of his captains, did not get a victory. The French Admiral was twice on fire, and so was Rodney's ship, and he was towed out of the line, but returned to it. He got between the French and Martinico, where only they could refit. The Court published an 'Extraordinary Gazette,' and called it a complete victory.

The King himself commenced an opposition to Admiral Keppel at Windsor for the next general election, and set up one Powney against him.

26*th*. Mr. Dunning moved for a Report from the Committee of April 6th, which had never been made. Rigby attacked Charles Fox; said, when the petitioners had been reported at the several assizes, he supposed the country gentlemen had told their constituents they must choose between Lord North and Charles Fox, and they had preferred the former; and that the next Parliament would be still more for the Court than the present. However, he was not tender to Lord North, particularly on the American war, which he said he knew, from being Paymaster, we could not carry on. He commended General Conway's bill, and said he should have been for it if it had not been for a few things he disliked in it. He blamed the Duke of Grafton for the beginning of the war, though he had lately been making court to him, but had been rejected; and he was thought to have glanced at his friend Lord Gower's resolution. Charles Fox told him that if he was in Lord North's place he should not be much obliged to him for such support. In fact, Lord North, after the debate, sent the Lord Advocate to Rigby complaining of his hostility, and wishing to live on better terms with him, which Rigby received coldly. The motion was rejected by 177 to 134.

The Mutiny Bill carried with a high hand in Ireland.

The Chancellor firm against submitting to it. Wedderburn, probably in opposition to the Chancellor, for submitting to it. The Irish softened the preamble even beyond what they owned they meant, to keep some decency. The Chancellor very ill, and thought in a dangerous way.

JUNE.

1*st*. DEBATE in the Lords on Lord Shelburne's motion about Holland, &c.

2*nd*. Lord George Gordon, after giving notice of his intention in the House of Commons, and by public summons in advertisements, went to the House at the head of a vast multitude calling themselves the Protestant Association, and presented a petition with an immense volume of names. A prodigious riot began, and fell especially on the Peers, many of whom were insulted and torn out of their chariots; against the Lord President Bathurst, who behaved with great firmness, Lord Stormont, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Townshend, Lord Willoughby de Broke, and Lord Boston, who was nearly trampled to death. All these Lords came into the House dishevelled. Lord Mansfield was in danger, but was saved by the Archbishop of York, who, being in a Committee and hearing of his danger, flew to his rescue, burst through the crowd, and led him off. Mr. Ellis was carried prisoner to the new Westminster Guildhall, but escaped by a back door. The Bishop of Lincoln was in great danger, and escaped over the leads of the House. Lord Sandwich turned back on seeing the crowd. The Duke of Richmond and Edmund Burke were

particularly threatened by the mob. Lord George Gordon, from the doors and windows of the House, denounced to the populace the Members who spoke against them. General Conway reprimanded him soundly in public and private. Colonel Murray told him he was a disgrace to his family, and that if anybody was killed he should not escape. Another Member followed him to every place he stirred, and vowed the same. The Speaker, Lord North, and the Members, behaved with more resolution than the other House, and sent for the Guards. The Duke of Gloucester had spoken there for the first time, and advised only the civil power. In the mean time all the avenues to and between both Houses were besieged and occupied by the rioters; the House of Lords, where the Duke of Richmond had intended to move a bill for annual Parliaments, adjourned to the next day on account of the tumult. Lord Mansfield was exceedingly terrified, and said to the Duke of Gloucester this country was undone, *that a change of Administration might be good, if any coalition be made.* Lord Mahon harangued the mob, and persuaded many to retire; but the other House was in great danger from their fury for four hours, and Colonel Luttrell proposed to open the doors, which were locked, and cut their way sword in hand. At nine at night the Horse Guards arrived and dispersed the tumult, after Lord George Gordon had moved to take the petition into immediate consideration, and had but one vote with him.

At ten the riot began again, and the chapels of the Bavarian and Sardinian Ministers were attacked, gutted, and plundered, and the furniture and seats burnt. Monsieur Rantran, a Russian, was seized in the tumult and sent to prison; but was reclaimed by Monsieur Simonin, the Russian Envoy, and tamely released.

3*rd*. The Duke of Richmond moved his bill for annual Parliaments, but it being rejected and little supported even by his own party, he was disgusted, and declared he would go into the country, as he did the next day.

The same day happened a very extraordinary negotiation. General Conway received a letter from an inferior person, who said he was authorized to acquaint him that the King had a mind to make a change in the Administration, and would leave it entirely to General Conway to form a new one, his Majesty excepting but three persons whom he would not remove—the Chancellor, Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germaine, the latter of whom the letter declared *had the King's confidence*, which Lord North had forfeited by his indolence and inactivity. General Conway, his Majesty insisted, should be Commander-in-Chief; the Duke of Richmond might, if he pleased, go Ambassador to Paris on a peace; and, after this campaign, Lord Camden and Mr. Burke might go to America to treat of a reconciliation. Many assurances were added of his Majesty's good intentions and dispositions towards this country, and it was proposed to Mr. Conway to meet Lord George Germaine at night, as by accident, at the letter-writer's house, who had a door into the Park.

Mr. Conway immediately sent for me, showed me the letter, and asked my opinion. I said at once that it was the silliest plan I had ever seen of the sort, and that I thought he could not give in to it; that the proposed change was no real one, would render things worse, not better, for Lord George Germaine was much more unpopular than Lord North, whom the King was betraying; and that Mr. Conway's friends would certainly not accede, for the King had been so weak as to reserve the chance of

another campaign in America before he would treat; and as sillily discovered that he meant to send the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Conway's friend and son-in-law, and Lord Camden and Burke out of the way, and keep the Chancellor, Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germaine as his confidential Ministers; and that I was surprised Lord George Germaine had had so little sense as to expect any success to so foolish and glaring a project; that I saw nothing desirable in it but Mr. Conway's commanding the army instead of so wretched and incapable a creature as Lord Amherst; and as for the King's promises, they were the effects of fear, and not to be depended on a moment; and that for all these reasons I was against his entering into the negotiation. He said he had abstained from speaking till he had heard my opinion; and that he agreed with me in every point; that he did not like treating with Lord George Germaine, nor could approve of him; and then, dashing down the letter with warmth very unusual to him, he said, "And to think I would act a moment with Lord Sandwich!"

He sat down immediately and wrote an answer to the person, with every expression of gratitude for the King's goodness to him, with high commendations of his Majesty's good intentions, but declining the negociation, which he said was what he was neither desirous of nor fit for. He had a mind to make a little repugnance to Lord George, and total to Lord Sandwich; but I persuaded him to omit both. I said the negociation might get wind, and his excepting to persons would look as if that was the occasion of his hanging back; whereas it was better to show no inclination at all to coming into power. If he named Lord Sandwich, I told him, Lord Sandwich would act as he had done when the first negociation was broken off with

Lord Chatham (I think, in 1764), when Lord Sandwich told every man whom he wished to detach from Lord Chatham that Lord Chatham had particularly excepted them.

What Lord Mansfield had said the day before to the Duke of Gloucester looked as if his Lordship knew something of this attempt at negociation.

At night the mob attacked Sir George Saville's house, who had moved the toleration, and did some mischief there, as they did in other places on the Sunday and Monday, 4*th* and 5*th*. Lord Sandwich was torn out of his chariot that morning, and had his face cut, and was saved only by the Horse Guards, who carried him home, whence he wrote to the House of Lords the reason of his absence. The houses of the Justices Fielding and Hyde were demolished and their goods burnt. Lord George Gordon was drawn in triumph by the mob from the House of Commons.

6*th*. The mob grew very outrageous and entirely destroyed and burnt everything in Lord Mansfield's house, he himself narrowly escaping. They had grown particularly enraged by Colonel Woodford's ordering the Guards to fire, who killed eight persons. Lord Mansfield and his wife were sheltered at St. James's, and Colonel Woodford was forced to abscond.

Wednesday the 7th was the fatal day. By eight at night the Bank was attempted and narrowly escaped. Newgate and the King's Bench were forced, all the prisoners released, and the buildings gutted, burnt, and destroyed as far as possible. Mr. Langdale, a wealthy Catholic distiller, who the day before had tried to appease them by money and liquor, had his house and stock burnt to a vast amount, as had a Catholic innkeeper in Holborn.

Barnard's Inn and the Fleet Prison were also fired, and seven distinct conflagrations were to be seen at once. The Inns of Court were also threatened, and variety of persons, but not a large number, were killed, except by the spirits at Mr. Langdale's, by drinking which many perished. The mob extorted money from several persons and houses, on threats of burning them as Catholics; and the Duke of Gloucester, who went disguised in a hackney coach to the Fleet Market, was stopped and plundered. The Justices were afraid to act, and the Lord Mayor Kennet and Sheriff Pughe behaved shamefully. Troops were sent for from all quarters, and some arrived and were encamped in Hyde Park. The mob was marching to burn Lord Mansfield's villa at Caen Wood, but were met and turned back by a regiment of militia. That evening a grand Privy Council and the Judges were summoned at the Queen's house, and the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General. The two Chief Justices, I think, were not there. De Grey was not, nor Lord Mansfield, but Wedderburn was there; and it is very memorable that Burke, though in Opposition, proposed to have military law proclaimed; and that Wedderburn, though a Scot and tool of the Court, dissuaded it, urging that all causes on private property must stand still. Burke, born a Catholic, was so enraged at the riots against toleration of Popery, that he forgot the Whiggism he had adopted; as law, his profession, weighed with Wedderburn against his politics.

All Privy Councillors, though in Opposition, were summoned. Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Portland went; General Conway would not go; the Duke of Grafton wrote to thank the King, but said there were some of the Ministers with whom he would not sit in council. Lord Rockingham took that opportunity of asking an audience,

and made a bold and severe remonstrance to the King, laying all to the fault of the Ministers. The Judges being asked if the riots would authorize shutting up the courts of justice and declaring military law, Judge Gould alone said there was not enough to authorize either. The Lord President Bathurst, though then fuddled, persuaded the King not to make Gould too popular by contradicting him; on which it was determined not to shut up the Courts nor proclaim martial law, but to empower the military to act at their discretion, on which Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Portland left the Council. The next day,

8*th*, more regiments arrived, and near thirty persons were killed rioting in Fleet-street, on which all tumults ceased, except that a popish chapel was burnt at Bath and another at Hull. Lord George Gordon had threatened in the House that numbers were on the road from Birmingham and other places, and bodies were expected from Kent and Essex, but not a man appeared. Eleven thousand men of the army were assembled in and near London, and camps held in St. James's and Hyde Parks, with which the King was delighted. Burke was almost frantic with passion, and was constantly with Lord North, which occasioned reports that he and Lord Rockingham were coming into place. The Catholics were terrified, with reason. Lord Petre's house was saved by the Guards, and Lord Rockingham had a garrison in his house, but few Catholics suffered. The Earl of Surrey at that moment turned Protestant, as he had of late designed to do. The House of Lords had adjourned for a week on account of the riots, but on the 8th the House of Commons met, when General Conway, who, on the first mob, had proposed to take the popish laws into consideration when the

riots should be over, which had been agreed to, intended to move to repeal them; but to his great surprise, found the House had adjourned two hours before the usual time, when not 50 members were arrived. This was imputed to the Speaker's advice. Conway, displeased, went out of town.

9th. Lord George Gordon was seized by messengers in his own house, and carried to the Horse-Guards. The populace in Wimpole-street, where he lived, were now turned against and insulted him. He was examined by the Council, and thence committed prisoner to the Tower, where not even his brother Lord William was admitted to see him for the first ten days. He asked frequently if more persons were not sent prisoners there, and was shocked when told that not a single person had inquired for him. It was much apprehended that there would be a rising in Scotland, and Duke Hamilton, Lord Selkirk, the Marquis of Graham, and others, were sent down privately to prevent it. Fisher, a very shrewd man, secretary to the Protestant Association, was taken up, examined, and discharged, but this, I believe, was in concert with himself. I know he had been privately at Twickenham with Welbore Ellis on the 8th, and it was said he had given up all the correspondence of the Society. Lady Hertford, lady of the bedchamber to the Queen, told me Lord George Gordon, besides his well-known audience in which he read a pamphlet to the King, had had one or two more audiences, the last of which was in May, when he told the King this should be the last time, and that he had given him warning.

The same day Wedderburn kissed hands as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in a few days as Baron Loughborough.

10*th*. The Duke of Gloucester wrote to the King to say that his Majesty knew how ready he had been on all occasions to offer his service in any difficulties; that he had only forborne now because they were so great that he thought he should only embarrass his Majesty; but that he saw the capital in so much danger and so many neglects that he thought it his duty to acquaint him with them, and therefore did beg an audience. The next day the King, by General Craggs, sent an answer full of most cordial expressions, told the Duke he should be glad to *see him and his children*, but there must be no mention of the Duchess. The Duke, shocked at that restriction, after reading the letter twice, thrust the letter into the fire, and said to Craggs, "It is not fit that this letter should ever be seen." His Royal Highness went to the King, who wept over him, and told him he had ever loved him the best of his family, and hoped to see him often. The Duke said all he intended, and told me the King had heard with great patience very strong things that the Duke said to him, who said, "Sir, there ought to be one person intrusted with the care of the capital." "Oh," said the King, "I will take care of that myself." The King told him he should see the Prince of Wales, and asked if he would not go to the Queen? The Duke hesitated to express that he suspected her of preventing the acknowledgment of the Duchess, and then replied, "Sir, if you desire it," and went to her. The King acted with great confidence, complained of Lord Rockingham, who, he said, had asked an audience, as his Majesty expected to thank him for granting him a guard during the riots, but had taken that opportunity *to lecture him*. His Majesty also spoke of the Duke of Richmond's warmth; the Duke replied, "Sir, the Duke of Richmond is fifteen years older than when you knew him, and is grown much more tem-

perate;" on which the King said no more, but asked him if he should not see him again? The Duke replied, he had a difficulty. "Oh!" cried the King, suspecting he meant on the Duchess's account, "if you have any difficulties." "They are," replied the Duke, "the fear of being troublesome."

The next day the Duke of Cumberland, hearing his brothers were reconciled, asked leave to go to the King too. The King sent him word he had been three years in Opposition, but supposed he now meant to quit it. However, as he had seen the Duke of Gloucester, he would see him too, and did, and afterwards said to the Duke of Gloucester, "I found Harry as much a boy as ever." This the Duchess of Gloucester told me; I replied, "Pray, Madam, does not the Duke of Cumberland say the same of the King?"

The Duke of Cumberland asked to see the Queen and the children. He was carried to the Queen, but the King said his children were out of town. However, the Duke of Cumberland contrived to meet the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick as they were riding in Hyde Park, got out of his coach, and embraced them. On this the King told the Duke of Gloucester that, though the Duke of Cumberland had taken that advantage, he (Gloucester) should see the Prince first at home, and carried the Duke to the Princes in the Queen's apartment. She, as if not disturbing the Duke, retired. They were charmed to see their uncle, and the King carried the farce of confidence so far that he gave the Duke leave to visit the Prince of Wales at Kew on the Friday following, the 16th, though he himself should be in town. Colonel Hotham, who probably had been ordered by the Queen to stay in the room at that interview, was so weak as to tell the Prince he should be in the room. The Prince replied, "Indeed

you shall not; for I will write to the King to desire you may not,"—and did; and the King wrote to Hotham to leave them together.

The Duke of Cumberland, transported at the reconciliation, said he would go to Court the next Thursday. The Duke of Gloucester said nothing. Lord North was eager to have him go to Court too, and pressed Sir John Dick, a favourite of the Duke, to press him to go, and said, all the rest (meaning the Duchess) would follow; though, if Lord North knew anything, he knew it would not—nay, that if the Duke sacrificed her, she never would be received. Lord North asked Sir John who influenced the Duke—did the Duchess? Had the Duke seen Lord George Germaine? This showed that Lord North had discovered that Lord George Germaine was grown a favourite of the King, and was jealous of him; but Lord George Germaine, unwilling to risk his new favour, now kept away from the Duke, though he had till now kept up appearances. I will mention presently a trifling circumstance that belongs to this part.

The Duke of Cumberland sent for his guards as formerly when the Princes went to Court, and went thither, and said not a word of his Duchess, who, it was given out, was satisfied that her husband was reconciled to the King. She was much applauded, and the Duchess of Gloucester as much condemned, as it was imputed to her pride that she would not let her husband go to Court without her. But the public knew little of the matter, as will appear by what I am going to relate. The Duchess of Gloucester wrote to me on the 14th, to desire me to come to town on the 16th, when the Duke would be at Kew, and she should be alone, and should have time to tell me all that had passed. I concluded the Duke would offer his service on

the tumults, and wondered he did not; but I made it a rule never to offer advice unless when he began a subject that would do and seemed to ask it. I knew he was afraid, and it was sensible to be so, of being thought to be guided by the Duchess's family; and it was not at all in my disposition to be at the trouble of governing anybody, which is in reality being their slave, for nobody is governed by any one but who humours them, and who is forced to give way nine times in order to succeed the tenth in some favourite object. I had always avoided Courts, had still more resolutely kept myself clear of my niece's match with the Duke; and could I have governed the Duke, or had I wished it, I knew it would be to no purpose, for I knew enough of the King to be sure that, if the Duke had even never offended him, he never would have communicated to the Duke a ray of power. Thus I had absolutely not known a tittle of the Duke's message to the King, nor knew it then but by accident at Hampton Court by persons come from town on the very day after they met. As I heard nothing from the Duchess, nor a syllable that she was not included, I concluded she was; and being determined, if they were well at Court, to relax in my attendance, knowing that, though the cordiality between King and Duke would be only outward, they would have Court enough, and not intending to return to Court myself unless the Duke desired it, which I did not think him likely to do earnestly, as he would not be fond of being attended by his wife's relations, I remained in the country till I was sent for.

Before I saw the Duchess I went to Lord Hertford to learn a little of the state of the reconciliation. Lord Hertford told me that he himself had asked the King if he might not wait on the Duke and Duchess? The

King replied, "Certainly on the Duke; *on the Duchess, certainly not.*" He himself could not receive the Duchess without affronting all the sovereigns of Europe by countenancing a *mésalliance.* Lord Hertford added that the King had ordered Lord Stormont, and not him, to acquaint the Foreign Ministers that he and his brothers were reconciled. They (the Ministers) might pay their court to them, but not to the Duchess.

I then went to the Duchess, who showed me the King's and Duke's letters, and told me all that had passed. I found that she had not heard of the order to Lord Stormont, and acquainted her with it. She was much hurt at the King's insidious behaviour, acting so much fondness for the Duke and wounding him behind his back. I said I had hoped she would have seen the King and Queen in private; that I had never wished her to go to the drawing-room, where she would have stood like one of the maids of honour, and would have been neglected by the courtiers, not to give jealousy to the King and Queen. She said she entirely agreed with me, and added Princess Amelia left off the drawing-rooms because the *King and Queen never spoke to her* till they had spoken to many others, and had left her undistinguished in the crowd.

The next day the Duke kept his bed with a bad fit of the asthma. The day after he sent for me to his bedside, and repeated all that had passed and what the Duchess had told me. He said he had never intended anything but to disburthen his mind of what he thought the King should know; that he had not thought of going again, but that his line was simple—he would go when sent for. He had told the King he wanted nothing, *and would take nothing*—so the Duchess had told me; and it is justice to him to say that, before the reconciliation, he had twice

said to me of late that he thought General Conway the only man fit to be at the head of the army. This was the nobler, as General Conway did not go to the Duke's Court. He said he would not carry his children to Court without their mother. "Sophia," said he, "is old enough to ask why her mother does not go." He repeated now what he had said more than once to me before: that before his going to Italy he would not have insisted on the Duchess being received at Court; but since the King of France had invited her by name to Versailles (which was only prevented by their not going through Paris), the Great Duke and Great Duchess had received her, and the Emperor would have done so, he should affront more princes if he afterwards gave up his wife, and this was a full contradiction to the King's plea to Lord Hertford. The Duke and the Duchess had been much hurt at the message to Lord Stormont, but he had calmed her. I said I could not know such a circumstance, and let his Royal Highness remain in ignorance of it. He said I had done very right. He told me that the Prince of Wales had told him that General Carpenter, a particular favourite of the King, had, in his Majesty's presence, commended the Duke of Cumberland for going to Court, and had been very impertinent about his (the Duke of Gloucester) not going, and that the King had said, "General Carpenter, I did not ask your advice. I like the Duke of Cumberland's coming, but I entirely approve of the conduct of the Duke of Gloucester," which was likening two contrarieties. I said to the Duke, "Sir, may I repeat that the King entirely approves of your Royal Highness's conduct?" He replied, "You may tell it everywhere." Two days after, the Duke told me the Prince of Wales had said to him, "I cannot come to see you now without the King's leave, but

in three years I shall be of age, and then I may act for myself. I will declare I will visit you." I said to the Duke, "Let me therefore beg your Royal Highness to bear any mortification from the King, as if you break with him again you will not see the Prince, and he may be set against you. If you keep well with him, it will be of the utmost consequeuce to your children."

The Duke of Cumberland declaring he would have a levée on the 19th and see the Foreign Ministers on the 20th, they sent Mr. Cotterell, Master of the Ceremonies, to the Duke of Gloucester, to know when his Royal Highness would please to receive them. He replied he did not intend to have levées or drawing-rooms, and that he should think it impertinent to receive the Foreign Ministers before he had paid his duty to the King in public; and he sent Sir J. Dick to them to explain why he did not see them—which was that he would receive nobody, but officers on military business, who did not wait on the Duchess too. They replied that they had not expected to be received, *car la conduite de son Altesse avait toujours été la plus sage.*

The night before the Duchess of Cumberland was to receive the Foreign Ministers, I found Lord George Germaine at the house of the Dutch envoy. Lord George and I had always been on very civil terms, but he was then remarkably cool. I imputed it to his guessing that I knew of General Conway's rejection of the negotiation with him, and might suspect that I had contributed to it; but late in the evening, when Lord George's party was broken up, he came to the table where I was playing with Count Welderen, and asked him when he was to go to the Duke of Cumberland's, which he would not probably have done before me, connected as I was with the Duke of

Gloucester, if he had not done it on purpose, and had not meant it as a sort of reproach to me that the Duke of Gloucester would have no levée; but it was perfectly indifferent to me whether I was well or ill with Lord George, and whether he was displeased on the Duke's or Conway's account. I have thrown all this together as a transaction by itself.

15*th*. Arrived the Earl of Lincoln, with account of the capture of Charlestown by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, with little loss, the Provincials being forced to surrender for want of provisions. The Court was much elated by this news, and gave out that they should be soon masters of the southern colonies. They reported that a Colonel Scott, a prisoner, had told Lord Lincoln that the Americans were sick of the war, and had only been buoyed up by Spanish gold and by French promises that London would be burnt, but this was never ascertained.

19*th*. The Parliament met; much loyalty in both Houses. The King went to the Lords, and made a speech apologising for the use of the military, and with many assurances of his regard for the Constitution. Burke and Wilkes, who had showed great spirit and zeal during the riots, attacked the City and the Lord Mayor, and were very severe on Alderman Bull on petition from the City for repeal of toleration.

Burke at the same time published a pamphlet against the repeal, in which he much misrepresented the number of Papists, who, he said, were few and inconsiderable, and injudiciously abused the Methodists, as greatly concerned in the tumults.

Lord Rockingham had been much alarmed during the riots, and believed his house would be attacked, and for-

tified it, and had guards every night both before and behind it. He and Burke, at the General Council at the Queen's house, were outrageous for the King's proclaiming military law; and while those patriots pressed it, Wedderburn, the Court tool, was the man to resist it, and to tell them not only that he knew of no power in the King to proclaim it, but that it would ruin all the persons who had lawsuit pending, as the courts of law must then be shut up. I mention these facts to do justice and to be impartial.

20*th*. Lord Mansfield declared in the Lords that every man ought to resist riots, and Lord Camden allowed that doctrine. In the Commons, resolutions that all the penal laws of the Papists not repealed were in full force. Lord George Saville promised a bill against their educating Protestants in their schools, and did bring it in. Burke spoke well, but too passionately, against repeal; attacked the Dissenters, but said the worthiest Presbyterians had not signed the petition; declared he himself had been brought up by an Anabaptist teacher. Charles Fox made one of his finest speeches against a repeal. Only Sir J. Mawbey gave a negative to the new resolutions, as they were meant in lieu of a repeal.

21*st*. Duke of Grafton and Bishop of Peterborough declared strongly against toleration of popery. Bishop of Llandaff answered them. Duke of Richmond moved for a censure of Lord Amherst's letter, which was rejected without a division. He complimented the Chancellor, and said he was the only man who could save his country. That day and the next, the

22*nd*, Duke of Richmond very severe on the Ministers for timidly releasing Count Manbeau, who had been taken prisoner demolishing the Sardinian chapel, which the

Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, and Lord Stormont denied, but did not dare to let the Duke produce witnesses to prove it.

Burke's bill thrown out by the House of Commons; *thus nothing done for the petitions.* The associations were all silenced by the late tumults. Lord Beauchamp had declared, on the first day of the Parliament remeeting, that he thought a bill of indemnity would be necessary, but the Court, finding their strength, laid aside that intention.[1]

24*th.* Wilkes[2] much missed at the Common Council, but re-elected Chamberlain. Parson Bate convicted of a libel in the 'Morning Post' on the Duke of Richmond. He published an insolent letter to the Duke in that paper, with a sort of challenge, on that conviction.

27*th.* Mr. Hartley moved a new bill for accommodation with America, but it was rejected by 93 to 28, the Ministers urging *that they expected America would offer peace.* Sir G. Saville moved a resolution that the war with America was unconstitutional and ruinous, but that was rejected by 105 to 34.

28*th* and 29*th.* The trials of the rioters began; eight or ten were convicted, *but nothing came out of any plot or plan* having been formed.

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[1] They did bring in a bill to indemnify the military.

[2] The influence and popularity of Wilkes among his special followers is illustrated by a remark of Hollis, in the 'Memoirs' of the latter: "I am sorry for the irregularities of Wilkes; they are, however, but as spots in the sun." —D.

JULY.

3*rd*. The Popish Bill in the Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury declared himself for toleration. The Bishops of Bath and Wells and Ely declared the number of Papists were decreased in their dioceses. The Chancellor declared *he had always disapproved of what had been done in favour of Papists*, but thought they had a right to educate their own children as they pleased. Many alterations were made in the bill, but at last it was thrown out.

8*th*. The Parliamentwas prorogued, and thus nothing at all was done to satisfy the petitions from the counties, who now seemed to be satisfied, though nothing was done. The riots had put an end to all open clamour, and, though military power triumphed, all opposition was at an end.[1]

In the late debates the Chancellor had made the greatest figure in point of abilities, but had given almost as much disgust as he had inspired admiration. His behaviour was ill-tempered, rude, and contemptuous to almost everybody, and he affected to declare himself connected with none of the Ministers.

11*th*, 12*th*, and 13*th*. Eight or nine of the rioters hanged in different parts of London. The Special Commission for trying the riots in Southwark opened by Lord Loughborough.

The trial of Lord George Gordon put off till November.

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[1] Lord Rockingham had contributed, too, to quash associations wherever he could.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* made Governor of Greenwich in the room of Sir Charles Harvey.

Soon after the negotiation with General Conway had been attempted and failed, another (which displayed the King's duplicity and indifference to his Ministers) was begun with Lord Rockingham. In the other Lord North was to have been the sacrifice, in this he was the negotiator and was to be preserved. He engaged Frederick Montague, his old friend, but once in opposition to him, to sound the Marquis on what terms he and his friends would unite with the Court. Lord North said he was not absolutely authorized by the King, but would answer for his Majesty's acquiescence, though his Majesty would wish that he, Lord North, should remain at the head of the Treasury. This seemed to preclude all success, as Lord Rockingham's point had ever been the Treasury; but Lord North seemed to have learnt from Burke that that would no longer be an obstacle, and, in fact, it looked as if Lord Rockingham in this treaty was solely led by Burke, and consulted no others of his friends.

Accordingly, Lord Rockingham's answer was that he himself desired no place nor anything but a seat in the Cabinet. The terms he demanded (for show) were that something should be done to give some satisfaction on the Middlesex election, something likewise on the Contractors' Bill, that some part of Burke's reforming bill should be adopted, and some of the Crown's influence diminished by taking away the votes of excisemen, &c. His Lordship demanded that the King should not declare that he would never consent to the independence of America, though his Lordship, on his side, wished that his Majesty should grant independence to America. As to places, Lord Rockingham desired that the Duke of Richmond

and Fox should be Secretaries of State, T. Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that Burke should have a good place, and some others; and that Admiral Keppel should be at the head of the Admiralty.

Nothing could be more futile and pitiful than these demands. They were most inadequate to the language held by the Opposition and to Lord Rockingham's late remonstrance. They were far below the demands not only of the associations but of the committees, which last Lord Rockingham had subscribed; they discovered no general views, aimed at reforming no capital grievances, and still less specified complaints against anybody. They were not more honourable to his party than beneficial to the nation, and were by their silence singularly disrespectful to Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Grafton, even the last of whom was as able a man as his Lordship, and yet the Duke was very far from a great man. The demands were so timid, so insignificant, so unmanly, that they had the appearance of being managed only to facilitate Burke's throwing himself into all the measures of the Court, and did not even preserve the dignity of a man courted to be an apostate. The Court treated the Marquis with the contempt he had so justly incurred. The answer was that something might be done on the Middlesex election and the Contractors' Bill, and on Burke's reform, but it would be unjust to deprive excisemen of their votes; that as the Duke of Richmond did not go to Court, nothing could be done for him till he did; that Charles Fox was too young yet for Secretary of State, though he might be so hereafter; Admiral Keppel might command the fleet, but he could not be at the head of the Admiralty; but a more specific rejection of Lord Rockingham and his terms was the immediately bestowing Greenwich Hospital on Sir Hugh Palliser.

Lord Rockingham then first notified the transaction to the Duke of Grafton, who very properly disdained to make an answer.

It was still more indecent that Lord Rockingham had not consulted with, nor, till past, communicated the treaty to the Duke of Richmond, who was not only his intimate friend, but who, in compliment to him, had always waived —as far as his very superior abilities would permit it —figuring as head of the Opposition. The Duke, who told all these particulars to General Conway, said he only asked Lord Rockingham how they could ever impeach Lord North if they had united with him? and he assured Conway he would not have come in on those terms had they been accepted.

AUGUST.

9th. THE executions of the rioters ended, when amongst others were two young women. The camps in town brought up. It is worthy of remark that of the several persons, male and female, executed on account of the late riots, seventeen of them have been under 18 years of age, and three not quite 15.

One more in St. George's Fields, August 25th.

The following is a general view of the trials of the rioters:—

In London and Middlesex.		*In Southwark.*	
Found guilty	34	Found guilty	24
Respited	15	Respited	18
Executed	19	Executed	6
Acquitted	50	Acquitted	26

11*th.* Five Russian men-of-war appeared in the Downs, and retired before the end of the month. The Parliament was to have been dissolved on the 9th, but the Ministers were afraid of bad news from the West Indies that might affect the elections.

The Irish Mutiny Bill, being granted here, was received in Ireland and passed.

21*st.* It was resolved not to dissolve the Parliament, as too many of the Ministers were voters, and must be absent from the camps.

22*nd.* An account of the Spanish fleet having come out of Cadiz and taken the whole outward-bound East India and West India fleets; 25 with the latter, with 7 companies of General Rainsford's new raised regiment for Jamaica; and 5 of former, with 2 companies of Lord Mellish's, and 2 ordnance ships. Their convoy got off.

The Volunteers of Dublin having passed strong resolutions against their House of Commons for passing the Mutiny Bill that had been granted here, but turned into a perpetual one, Conolly complained of them, and the House voted them illegal.

SEPTEMBER.

THE English Parliament was suddenly dissolved. It was said that the Ministers consulted Lord Loughborough, who was on the Northern Circuit, and he advised it, as he said he found the Court was losing ground again every day.

Reports that General Clinton was returned to New York, not having been able to bring Washington to a battle

and finding him too strongly entrenched. Thus the recovery of America, which had been promised, again vanished.

Admiral Geary resigned the command of the fleet. It was said he was disgusted at not having had frigates enough to watch the Brest fleet, and that the Admiralty had not answered his demands of many articles. The command was offered to Admiral Barrington; he said he would take it, if with full powers—that is, he would not be dependent on Lord Sandwich; or he would serve under any other Admiral; neither being granted, he struck his flag and retired.

The King was making the strongest interest at Windsor against Admiral Keppel, yet, meeting him on the Terrace there, told him he hoped he would carry his election. Keppel lost it, but the counties of Surrey and Suffolk immediately offered to elect him, and he accepted the former. (Prince of Wales took great part for Keppel, and would not speak to Colonel Egerton, who voted against him.)

Sawbridge thrown out in the City of London, for having been for toleration of popery.

14*th*. Seven new Barons created: Earl Talbot, with reversion to his grandchildren by his daughter Lady Cecil Rice, it having been promised to her late husband Mr. Rice; Lord Gage made an English Baron, with reversion to his brother the General; General Fitzroy made Lord Southampton; Sir W. De Grey, late Chief Justice, Lord Walsingham; Sir W. Bagot, James Brudenel (middle brother of the Duke of Montague and Lord Ailesbury), and Mr. Herbert, all Barons. The late Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, and Lord George Germaine, were not made Peers as expected; nor Sir Lawrence Dundas and Lord George Sutton, and I think, some others who had long had promises.

Bate, the vile author of the 'Morning Post,' fought another duel with one of the proprietors of that paper, and set up a new one called the 'Morning Spy.'

A subscription of 17,000*l.* was entered into at York, against Lascelles, the late Court Member for the county, and he was forced to decline standing. Mr. Wyvil and Mr. Mason the chief actors against him.

22*nd.* The poll for Westminster was closed, when Admiral Rodney and Charles Fox were returned, and Lord Lincoln defeated. The next day Charles Fox was chaired and carried in triumph to St. James's Gate to insult the Court. He often harangued the people from the hustings.

The people of Windsor wore crape favours with Keppel's name, in the King's face, on the Terrace.

25*th.* General Dalrymple arrived from Sir H. Clinton with an account of the capture of the greatest part of the fleet going to Quebec with supplies, of the great distress at New York, and the superiority of the Americans.

28*th.* Admiral Keppel chosen for Surrey by a majority of 700, on which Onslow declined, and Keppel and Sir Joseph Mawbey were returned.

Lord Ongley thrown out of Bedfordshire in like manner.

The Prince of Wales wished Miss Keppel joy of the Admiral's success, and said it was the happiest event he had ever known.

OCTOBER.

Lawrence, late President of the Congress, and going to negotiate in Holland, was taken at sea and brought to England with all his papers.

7*th*. He was committed close prisoner to the Tower.

9*th*. An express from Lord Cornwallis in Carolina, that with only 2000 men he had attacked General Gates at the head of 7000, and totally defeated him, with little loss of Royalists, and had killed 900 and taken 1500 prisoners; another officer had had like success with a less party. On the news from Clinton in the preceding week everybody had declared the American war must be given up. This new success was likely to revive the King's obstinacy—as all advantages had done to the involving us deeper in ruin.

9*th*. Lord Lincoln gave up the scrutiny for Westminster. Charles Fox returned.

The Court resolved to go on with the American war.

13*th*. Lord Carlisle appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in room of Lord Buckingham. Lord Grantham succeeded Lord Carlisle at the Board of Trade. Eden appointed his Secretary.

Dr. Hunter, the Scotch man-midwife, at one of his anatomic lectures, made an extravagant panegyric on the King, and said, all our disgraces and distresses were owing to the Opposition.

31*st*. The new Parliament. It had been determined that as soon as the Members were sworn in it should be adjourned for a fortnight; but Lord Cornwallis's victory had given the Ministry, and they hoped the nation, spirits; and as they could not hope any further success, they opened the session.

The first day in the Commons was appointed for choosing

a Speaker: Lord George Germaine and Ellis proposed Mr. Cornwall; Sir Fletcher Norton rose, and complained that Lord North had not even intimated to him that he was to be laid aside. Charles Fox rose, and attacked violently Lord George Germaine, who had paid great compliments to Sir Fletcher. Fox said, that was stabbing him in the dark, but it was like Lord George's well-known cowardice. He accused Rigby too, who defended himself, of being an enemy of Sir Fletcher, with whom he had formerly had a quarrel. Cornwall was preferred by 203 to 176.

Not a word was heard of associations. The panic on the riots had quashed them, but, being entirely over, would not have hindered their reviving had the nation been so disposed; but I am persuaded that the greater number of those who had joined in the associations had only concurred for fear of their elections, of which they were now secure.

The King's Speech very vague, and like former ones; but it declared for another year of war. Lord Westmoreland, a young Lord just of age, moved the Address with applause; but urged as a good omen, that Monsieur De Sartines (a known enemy of this country) was removed in France: it was a little of a blunder too, for Sartines was removed for waste and incapacity, and M. De Castries, another man, succeeded him.[1]

The Address was voted by above 60 to 23. Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden were not present, and did not intend to attend. They were entirely broken with the Rockinghams. The Duke of Richmond was there, but resolved to take little part and to wait till the nation should come to its senses. The debate in the other House was postponed till the 7th for the Members to be sworn.

[1] Lord Westmoreland (then just come of age, and master of a large independent fortune) was so servile as to add that the King deserved thanks for not having made himself absolute, like the King of Sweden, when he had the army in town on the late riots.

NOVEMBER.

6th. Lord Pomfret, half a madman, was committed to the Tower by the House of Lords, for challenging and grossly insulting the Duke of Grafton without any provocation.

The same day in the Commons Mr. De Grey and Sir Richard Sutton moved the Address on the King's Speech. It was opposed by Mr. Thomas Grenville and Colonel Richard Fitzpatrick. Charles Fox was again very personal to Lord George Germaine, and said he was unfit to serve the King, as he had been declared so at the head of every regiment, in the late reign. Lord George said he despised personalities, and those who employed them. The Address was voted at eleven at night by 212 to 130. Mr. Erskine moved the King's Bench in the name of Lord George Gordon that he might be brought to trial; which was received.

10th. The grand jury found the bill of high treason against Lord George Gordon.

13th. An express from Admiral Rodney blaming Admiral Arbuthnot much, and saying he had found Rhode Island so strongly fortified that he could not attack it, and was returned to the West Indies.

At the same time an account of General Arnold, the butcher's son, who had behaved so bravely and been dangerously wounded, and who now commanded the advanced guard of Washington's army, having offered Sir H. Clinton to betray the whole corps to him if he would advance.

Clinton had sent his Lieutenant, Major-General St. André, son of St. André the surgeon, to settle the terms. St. André was taken by three Americans, who carried him to Washington, on which Arnold had made his escape by the North River to Clinton. Washington offered Clinton to release St. André on Arnold being given up, and on refusal hanged St. André, who only begged to be shot. This was probably provoked by Lord Cornwallis's having hanged 120 Carolinians.[1]

The King gave the red riband to Admiral Rodney, General Pensin, and J. Wroughton, Minister in Sweden.

Lord Pomfret petitioned the House of Lords for his liberty; ordered to be considered on the 15th.

T. Townshend had intended to move for the thanks of the Commons to Sir Fletcher Norton, and had acquainted Lord North with his design, which he said he should do without giving offence; but he deferred it, Lord North being ill of a quartan ague. Jenkinson and Rigby now took great part, as if both aimed at being Minister.

Adam, the Scotch duellist, complained of a severe advertisement from the Westminster Association, who said they would guard Charles Fox's invaluable life, as those who attacked him and other patriots (meaning also Fullerton, who fought Lord Shelburne) were sure of being rewarded. He was severe on Fox's private life, and panegyrized his own virtues, and said they who adopted such advertisements were infamous. Fox made a temperate answer, denied having known of the vote of the Committee, and imputed it to their zeal for him. Fitzpatrick said the same of his absence, but that he approved the vote. "Then," said Adam, "he comes under my description." Fitzpatrick

[1] Twenty thousand pounds was the price of Arnold's treachery.

replied cleverly, that he had not applied the words to Adam, and if he applied these words to himself he could not help it. As they stood, he did approve them.

The navy then being moved, Charles Fox fell severely on Lord Sandwich for having at that moment set up Sir Hugh Palliser for Huntingdon. After Christmas he should move for the dismission of Lord Sandwich, and then for bringing him to condign punishment for his mismanagement of the navy. Rigby said that was nothing to the question before them; he did not mean to defend Lord Sandwich or Palliser, but did not doubt that they would be able to defend themselves. Mr. Courtney, of the Ordnance, a new member, spoke with great applause, and said, for the abuse of Administration, it put him in mind of Charles II., who, on the Duke of York's warning him to guard against assassination, replied, "Brother, they will not murder me, as they know who is to succeed me."

13*th.* Lord Pomfret made his submission and petitioned the House of Lords for his liberty. They appointed a Committee to draw up the terms of his reprimand, submission, and assurance of pursuing his resentment no further against the Duke of Grafton or anybody else; all which he executed on the 17th and was released.

It was determined not to try Lord George Gordon till the next term. The Protestant Association came to resolutions in his behalf which were published in the newspapers.

20*th.* On a complaint of a riot at Coventry, which had prevented any election being made there, Sheridan, the comic author, son of the Irish actor, and manager of Drury Lane, who had recently been chosen for Stafford, and was very much attached to Charles Fox, spoke for the first time, but did not make the figure expected. T. Towns-

hend then moved to give the thanks of the House to Sir Fletcher Norton, the late Speaker; he had previously acquainted Lord North with his intention, and that he did not intend to say anything offensive. Lord North had promised to vote for it; Rigby opposed it, and others, complaining of his having without any authority from the House taken too great liberties with the King in recommending economy, so servile now was the House of Commons grown. Even Sir George Saville opposed the motion, probably from indignation at the profligate character of Norton, whom Courtney ridiculed with much wit—yet the motion was carried by 136 to 94.

The Address of the Convocation was uncommonly servile and ridiculous; they told the King they hoped he would find Popery decreased (which was most improbable after so much encouragement), and that God had for our sins permitted us to be involved in a just and necessary war!

Great apprehensions of war with Holland, it having been discoursed from Lawrence's papers that the city of Amsterdam had entered into a treaty with the Americans. Sir J. Yorke was ordered to present a new imperious and peremptory memorial, though we had been so put to shame on that sent by Lord Suffolk. This was scarce delivered, before the Dutch envoy demanded that a Dutch agent should reside in Ireland, which was saying that Holland looked on Ireland as become independent. The King replied that he had consulted his Lord Lieutenant, who advised against it. This was a new ridicule, for Lord Carlisle had not been Lord Lieutenant six weeks, and had not yet been in Ireland, and could understand nothing of the matter.

Mr. Turnbull, son of the American Governor of Connecticut, was taken up as a spy. His letters were immediately published, because in one to his father, he said Mr. Temple

was intimate with the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. David Hartley, and Dr. Price, who thence were represented as traitors.[3] In reality the Ministry hoped to discover that American agents had been at the bottom of the late riots.

Accounts of French and Spanish fleets having joined.

25*th*. Captain Keith Stewart, brother of Lady Glover, arrived very ill, and with his ship in a very bad condition. He had been with Admiral Rodney's fleet, which had suffered greatly by bad weather. Three others had been dismasted and four were missing.

27*th*. Mr. Coke, a country Member, distressed the Ministers by moving to thank Lord Cornwallis. They were forced to add Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, and all three had thanks voted after warm debates. Wilkes strongly objected to Lord Cornwallis, who had been one of five who had protested[4] against the Stamp Act, and consequently did not act now from principle. Lord Lewisham, son of Lord Dartmouth, made a ridiculous speech on the necessity of destroying the French marine—as if we could!

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[3] November 25th, conversing with a relation of the late Mr. George Grenville, and saying I had heard from various persons that Lord Bute had given the plan of the Stamp Act, drawn up by Jenkinson, to Mr. Grenville, that person agreed with me, and said he had often heard Mr. Grenville say that the King's impatience to have the Stamp Act proposed was incredible, and that he was always urging Mr. Grenville to it, and telling him that their time would be lost. I said I had been convinced that Mr. Grenville's giving up the Stamp Act, as he did towards its end, was, though partly owing to the repeal, and partly to his disgrace and opposition, chiefly from its having not been his own plan; and that he was so obstinate and bigotted to his own opinions that he would never have abandoned it if his own child.

[4] In this, too, that person fully agreed with me. He had not protested, but divided with only four more.

DECEMBER.

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4th. Sir Hugh Palliser took his seat in the House; read his defence—dull. Keppel's spirited answer, disdaining compromise, and declaring he would call him nothing but Governor of Greenwich. Lord North's warm defence of Palliser, and owning his recommendation of him, though probably not true.

6th. House of Commons adjourned for the holidays. The new Parliament evidently Ministerial; half the Opposition had not appeared—Duke of Richmond but once, Lord Shelburne not at all. Barré scarce took a part, nor anybody but Fox and J. Townshend.

It now appeared that the Associations had gone too far, and by Wyvil's absurdities, in stating various new propositions, had hurt the cause. His insolence, too, and ill-treatment of Lord Rockingham, and more particularly of Lord John Cavendish, had cooled them, and had induced the Court to treat with Lord Rockingham, who, disgusted at that usage, had been more ready to treat. Lord George Gordon and the riots had alarmed men; but had the country really been for the Associations, the spirit would have revived; but a great many had joined the Associations for fear of their elections, which now being over, they were not afraid. I had laboured last year to persuade temper for the Associations, and told some of the principal leaders that their business was to stick to the plan of economy as

popular, and to wait till they had chosen a new Parliament, and then they might carry what they pleased; but a few men who had carried their counties into Associations were intoxicated with their success, and fancied they could govern the world. My advice was not listened to, and now they found their total mistake.

The Court in the mean time was insolent, and seemed determined to stick at nothing. The Scotch writers openly recommended duels, *i. e.* assassinations—fine doctrine in a pious reign! and when Lord Pomfret had been sent to the Tower for a challenge in a private quarrel, Adam, like a bravo and unlike a man of honour, constantly attacked Charles Fox; and his warmth against the Westminster Association silenced them, as his countrymen bragged.

Turnbull's letters were published, and the cry was that the Duke of Richmond, Hartley, and Dr. Price, who were mentioned in them, were traitors; yet the publication of them proved the Court could prove nothing on them. Other intercepted letters from America (or forged) were sent over here and published, to make the nation believe America was ready to submit.

9*th*. Account of the death of the Empress Queen.

16*th*. Lord Carlisle went as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland in the room of Lord Buckingham.

20*th*. Lord Macartney appointed Governor of Madras by the Indian Company.

21*st*. The King's manifesto against the Dutch published in an *extraordinary* 'Gazette,' letters of marque granted, and an embargo laid on all Dutch vessels in our ports.

A great number of new Irish Peers made and promoted.

25*th*. Terrible accounts of a hurricane in the West

Indies, in which both English and French suffered greatly and lost many vessels.

The Pretender's wife left him on his beastly ill-usage, and retired into a convent under the protection of the Grand Duke. *Vide* Sir Horace Mann's letters.

28*th.* The Prince of Wales had a sort of establishment appointed. Lord Southampton was made his Groom of the Stole; Lord Courtown, Lord Parker, and Lord J. Clinton, his Lords, and three Grooms. His brother Prince Frederick was to, and did, go to Osnaburgh. The brothers were separated because they were great friends, and that Prince Frederick had most spirit, and, as the Queen dropped, put his brother on acting with spirit; but it did not go far. Colonel Lake and Colonel Robert Conway were ordered to America, it being their turns. The former was suffered to go because he was the chief favourite of the Prince of Wales. Conway was excused because he had taken a warm part against Admiral Keppel at Windsor, but was afterwards forced to go.

28*th.* The Dutch envoy received his letters of recall. Sir Joseph Yorke had been ordered to stop at Antwerp to see if the Dutch would relent, for our Court now hoped they would.

30*th.* The Court published, or rather gave out, accounts of Colonel Leslie's success on the Chesapeak, and of his taking possession of and fortifying two or three open towns, among which was Norfolk, which the English had burnt; but they did *not own* that by the same mail they had learnt the defeat of Colonel Ferguson, and that Sir H. Clinton had recalled Leslie (who had actually re-embarked) to reinforce Lord Cornwallis, who had been very ill, and was marched 150 miles into the country with only 1300 men,

and was then in great danger of being cut off, Washington having detached 3000 men to reinforce Gates. I saw a letter that came by that very mail from Colonel O'Hara to General Conway, describing the embarrassed situation of Clinton, the aversion of the Carolinians, who were described here as returning to their allegiance, declaring he trembled for Lord Cornwallis, who, he said *well*, was surrounded by *inveterate friends*,[1] and professing his firm belief of the impossibility of our recovering America.

31*st*. The Dutch envoy went away without taking leave.

Thus the year finished with the outset of a new war; yet the Scotch had so infatuated and poisoned the nation, that the Dutch war was popular, at least in the City, where the spirit of gaining had seized all ranks, and nothing was thought of but privateering. The people were told and believed that the Opposition encouraged America, and that several rich persons had been ruined by sending money thither. The Opposition were all split and inactive: the Duke of Richmond on one side, Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden on the other, would not come to Parliament; and the Government that had precipitated us into all these calamities and had achieved nothing, was more popular. At this moment a change happened in France. The Queen's influence prevailed: she obtained the dismission of the Prince de Montbarrey, and got the Duc du Chatelet, one of our bitterest enemies, to succeed him. And it was thought M. De Vergennes would fall, too, the only one who had supported the Americans, for all the other Ministers did not like them, though they wished to hurt us,

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[1] This certainly meant the Scotch; for it afterwards came out that Lord Cornwallis had given orders to his recruiting-officers not to enlist any Scotch.

and had much neglected them; and Dr. Franklin was grown old and indolent, and had lost all credit at Versailles. Yet they had a mind to support the Americans enough just to ruin us by another year's war. If the Duc du Chatelet has any power, and, which seems not improbable, the Duc de Choiseul should regain power, I think the war will be carried on with more vigour, but more in the West Indies and in Europe than in America.

1781.

JANUARY.

2nd. Account of the hurricane having destroyed great part of Jamaica, many merchant-ships and some men-of-war.

About the same time an account of the expedition sent by Governor Dalling from Jamaica, of 1500 men, against the Spanish settlements having been destroyed to a man, with 25 officers, by the climate. On this the Government said not a word, nor of the defeat of Colonel Ferguson; but on some trifling advantage of Colonel Castleton from Quebec, they published a 'Gazette' on the 6th, and then owned he had recovered what had been taken from Ferguson.

8th. An account that near 2000 French had landed from open boats on Jersey on the 6th, and had surprised the Lieutenant-Governor Corbett in his bed. The Council sent orders to Sir James Wallace, at Portsmouth, to go to Jersey with what force he could, and to General Conway to repair thither. The express went to him at Park-place at eleven; he was in town by three, though with a broken arm not quite recovered, and set out in two hours for Portsmouth.

9th. At noon an express from Guernsey that the troops in Jersey had rallied, attacked the French, gained a complete victory, taken 500 prisoners, and driven 400 into the

sea. The Commander was killed after having exposed Lieutenant-Governor Corbett to the fire of the Jersey troops, in hopes they would not fire on him. In the Commander's pocket was found a letter from the Chevalier de Luxembourg, expressing the eagerness of the French King for the expedition. It was to have consisted of 5000 men from four different ports, and was to have landed on Christmas Eve, generally kept as a great holiday at Jersey, when they expected to find the garrison drunk; but all had been delayed by various accidents, and only one corps had embarked, which was then defeated.

On the 3rd of January a committee of 59 gentlemen of the Yorkshire Association had met at York, and had sent Mr. Wyvil and two other deputies to London with very sober instructions, and restraining them to the pursuit of economy of public money, and of lessening the influence of the Crown to the obtaining 200 additional county Members, but waiving to a more proper time their former visions of short Parliaments, &c.; at the same time professing only the most legal steps, and forbidding the delegates to enter with any other delegates of counties and towns into any other measures than those prescribed; without consulting the committee. They also published an address to counties and towns, which prescribed what they had almost given up in their directions to their delegates, and was more hostile to the Opposition than to the Court, and was consequently more agreeable to the Court than disagreeable. It was at once weak and proved passionate and timid, and not likely to have more effect on the nation than on the Parliament; and Mr. Wyvil, the chief director, had neither sense, nor policy, nor knowledge of mankind, and evidently aimed more at governing than at doing any service. Such is commonly the case of directors of small assemblies—inflated

with their own importance, they expect everybody to submit because their own little knot does. They grow angry at whoever differs with them, friends or foes, and hate those most with whom they quarrel last. They take their own obstinacy for integrity, pass for martyrs in their own estimation if they are contradicted, and imagine that all liberty is lost if they are not suffered to be tyrants.

11*th*. General Conway, in the Emerald frigate, was two days and nights in a tempest, could not get to Jersey, and was forced to re-land at Plymouth. He set out with a broken arm, and hurt it as he was lifted into the vessel.

19*th*. The Russian Minister delivered a memorial on our war with Holland, which occasioned the King to put off his levée and call a Council, in which he sat from eleven till three.

23*rd*. The House of Commons met after the recess. Breach of Mr. Grenville's bill.

29*th*. Lord George Gordon carried before King's Bench. He made a very long speech; against the opinion of his council, Kenyon and Erskine, pleaded not guilty; ordered for trial on the Monday sen'night.

Alderman Townshend advertised for a meeting of the Westminster Association to meet delegates of other counties. This was probably at instigation of Lord Shelburne, because the York Associations were hostile to Lord Rockingham.

25*th*. King's message to both Houses on war with Holland. Great majorities for the Court in both Houses. Lord George Germaine denied any hostile intentions in Russia. Dunning pressed the Ministry to say what right the King had to punish the Amsterdammers: no Minister could answer.

FEBRUARY.

4th. CHARLES FOX's motion to censure nomination of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital. His panegyric on General Conway. Governor Johnston's artful but severe speech against Keppel and the illuminations. The House sat till three in the morning. Motion rejected by 214 to 149.

Account of Admiral Rodney attempting St. Vincent, and being forced to give it over.

5th. Lord George Gordon tried for high treason, and acquitted at five the next morning. He had been above seven months in the Tower.

Had the Administration tried him only for misdemeanours, they would certainly have convicted him, and got him imprisoned or severely fined. They were persuaded that their evidence was sufficient to convict him of high treason, and even Erskine, his own most zealous council, expected it. He told a person I know that this was the cause of his own fainting. He did not doubt but the jury would bring Lord George in guilty; but when they returned into Court one of the jurymen made a favourable sign to Erskine, the surprise of which made such a revulsion in him that he fainted. The case was, most of the jury were Dissenters. Lord George, when arraigned, accused the Ministers of designing to pack a jury. They were so alarmed at the imputation that they would not interfere, and hence a jury partial to him was returned.

Reports of 2200 men deserting from Washington to Sir

H. Clinton. This was said (as three years ago of Washington's defeat) to come to Liverpool in a New York 'Gazette,' and was so confidently asserted by the Court that the stocks rose on it. However, no confirmation came in a week afterwards, and at most it was a small body who had mutinied for pay and retired. Strong affirmations were also made in all the Ministerial papers, which were almost all the papers, of a defensive treaty made with the Emperor, which proved another lie.

14*th.* Mr. Burke moved to renew his bill for reducing the places on the Civil List. Lord North had declared he would throw out the motion with letting the bill be read; but found that even many of his friends would dislike such imprudent proceeding, and he was forced to consent to let the bill be brought in.

15*th.* Duke of Bolton had moved for papers to inquire into the capture of the great convoy in August last, but turned the debate to the late flight of Admiral Darby before the combined fleets. Lord Sandwich pleaded that Darby had had but 17 to 32, and he had had no more; they had been parted by a storm. Lord Rockingham fell heavily on Sandwich, who had formerly said he would deserve to lose his head if he had not a fleet superior to France and Spain.

8*th.* The Duke of Cumberland having had a general levée, the Duchess saw company once a week in an evening, and many persons, both of the Court and Opposition, went to her; but the Queen forbade her ladies going, and neither the Lord Chamberlain nor the other Ministers went. The Duke of Cumberland was making great court to the Prince of Wales, and intended to give him a ball; but the King would not let him go to that Duke and Duchess. The Duke of Cumberland then made a great dinner for the Prince's servants; but on the very morning the King forbad

their going. The Duke complained to the Prince, and the Prince entreated the King to let them go, but he would not.

16*th*. The Queen gave a ball at her house to the Prince, to which one hundred persons of the Court, or in favour, and their children, were invited; but the Duke of Cumberland was not asked, nor Lady Bute and her daughter.

19*th*. Mr. Burke's bill for retrenching places on the Civil List was read the first time; the second reading deferred till that day fortnight, because the 21st was to be the Fast Day and the 22nd the benefit of Vestris, a favourite *French* dancer of the opera. This last was on Lord Nugent's motion, and the House, in the heat of a *French* war, came into it! Then followed a conversation of severity on Admiral Darby's having declined the French fleet. Mr. Fox added that he had heard that Governor Johnston had sent from Portsmouth, whither he was gone to sail with the grand fleet for the relief of Gibraltar, a complaint to Lord Hillsborough that the fleet was in a rotten condition and not fit to sail. Not one of the Ministers denied it; but next day it was given out that Johnston had only complained of one ship not being ready at the time it had been promised.

20*th*. Letters from New York that 1300 Pennsylvanians had quitted Washington for want of pay, and had encamped at Trenton. Clinton had sent two messengers to invite them to join him; but they had refused, and sent his messengers prisoners to the Congress, but declared they would not disband till paid. This, in the Court's usual manner, was so magnified, that it was called the greatest and most favourable event that had happened in America; but they did not venture to print more than the above in the 'Gazette.'

The Protestant Association sent a very strong address

of congratulation to Lord George Gordon, in which they absurdly imputed the late riots to the papists, and exhorted his Lordship pretty plainly never to take a place. To that part he made no answer. Rejoicings in many towns in Scotland on his * * * Handbills for keeping the Fast, with strong expressions * * * *Vide* the 'London Chronicle' for February 22.

22*nd*. Account of the Barker, Indiaman, exceedingly rich, being wrecked in the late storm on the coast of Holland. Part of the vast wealth of Sir Thomas Rumbold was on board. He was supposed to be returned worth a million.

26*th*. Mr. Burke's renewed bill for the reduction of the Civil List was read a second time, and thrown out by 233 to 190. Lord Shelburne's friends did not attend it. The young men in Opposition made a considerable figure, particularly John Townshend (second son to the Viscount) and Sheridan (the manager of the theatre), the two last intimate friends of Charles Fox, and William Pitt (younger son of the great Lord Chatham), who, Lord North declared, made the best *first* speech he ever heard. Sheridan demolished Courtney, the wit, or rather buffoon, of the Court, whom he told that he was most ludicrous when he attempted to be serious. The Lord Advocate and the Courtiers maintained that the King had as much right to dispose of the Civil List as he pleased as any private man of his estate. Rigby moved and it was voted to put off the bill for six months.

A new scene now began to open, which drew most of the attention of the public, at least of the town. Since the family of the Prince of Wales had been established, and that he was now past eighteen, it was impossible to confine him entirely. As soon as the King went to bed, the Prince

and his brother Prince Frederick went to their mistresses or to ——. Prince Frederick, who promised to have most parts and had an ascendant over his brother, was sent abroad on that account, and thereby had an opportunity of seeing the world, which would only make him more fit to govern his brother (contrary to the views of both King and Queen) or the nation, if his brother should fail, and which was not improbable. The Prince of Wales was deeply affected with the scrofulous humour which the Princess of Wales had brought into the blood, and which the King kept down in himself by the most rigorous and systematical abstinence. The Prince, on the contrary, locked up in the Palace and restrained from the society of women, had contracted a habit of private drinking, and this winter the humour showed itself in blotches all over his face. His governor, the Duke of Montague, was utterly incapable of giving him any kind of instruction, and his preceptor, Bishop Hurd, though a scholar, was only a servile pedant, ignorant of mankind. The Prince was good-natured, but so uninformed that he often said, "I wish anybody would tell me what I ought to do; nobody gives me any instruction for my conduct." He was prejudiced against all his new servants, as spies set on him by the King, and showed it by never speaking to them in public. His first favourite had been Lord Malden, son of the Earl of Essex, who had brought about his acquaintance with Mrs. Robinson; but by an intrigue, which I am going to mention, both were disgraced on pretence of Lord Malden's intriguing with her himself, which was well founded * * *

I have mentioned that the Duke of Cumberland paid great court to the Prince. I have said, too, that the Duchess of Cumberland had opened drawing-rooms on Thursday evenings: the resort to them was excessive.

Before the Duchess of Cumberland opened her drawing-room, she forced herself upon several great ladies, who she knew could not refuse going to return her visits. She had desired to see some new furniture at Devonshire House, had visited Lady Shelburne on the Earl's illness, and had invited herself to Lord Salisbury's at Hatfield, and at Bath had visited the Duchess of Marlborough.

She affected humility, and, to contradict and oppose the Duchess of Gloucester, would not suffer her hand to be kissed, returned visits of Duchesses and Countesses, went to general assemblies, as the Duke of Cumberland did still more, and admitted everybody; whereas the Duchess of Gloucester had imprudently objected to some persons whom she did not like being admitted. But the chief concourse was drawn thither by the arts of Lady Melbourne,[1] who, being the mistress of Lord Egremont, had occasioned his breaking off his match with Lady Maria, the Duchess's daughter, the last year. Lady Melbourne was a very sensible woman, and having a magnificent house and making great entertainments, was one at the head of the fashion, or ton as they were called. Her friend was the reigning beauty, the Duchess of Devonshire,[2] who had assisted in breaking off the above-named match, and had particularly thereby offended the Duchess of Gloucester. These women setting the example, almost all the nobility, but the servants

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[1] Daughter of Sir Ralph Millbank.

[2] The celebrated Georgina, eldest daughter of Earl Spencer. The rhyming wits assailed this style of dress of the famous beauty. Here is a specimen by an anonymous poet, who was not invited to her parties:—

DSS. DEVON. IN 1777.

* * * * *

"Hither, various goddess, haste,
Boundless, inimitable Taste, [reign,
And save those charms from Fashion's tawdry
Which Nature gave to Devon, and gave in vain.
From her cumbrous forehead tear
The architecture of her hair;
But leave one snow-white plume, to show
It faintly mocks the neck below.
Snatch from her lips th' immodest guile
Of affectation's constant smile,
And on her cheek replace the rose,
Which, pale and wan, no longer glows
With all that beauty, youth, and love
Could copy from some saint above.
Would she promise real bliss,
Bid her seem but what she is;
Or if lovelier still she'd be,
From Granby learn to worship *thee*."

—D.

of the King and Queen, flocked to Cumberland House—even the Opposition, who always were more absurd than the Court. They had none of them gone thither till now, to mark their dislike to the Luttrells, and many, from duty-court to the King, had not gone to Gloucester House neither. It was the height of absurdity to go to Cumberland House now, for though the King suffered the Duke of Cumberland to have levées, he forbad his servants going to the Duchess—so they did not pay court to the King by going; and as the Duke and the Luttrells had now desisted from Opposition, they had in reality offended the Opposition, who, however, chose that very moment to pay their court to the Cumberlands. But an event soon happened that changed that aspect, and made Cumberland House naturally the head-quarters of, at least, part of the Opposition. The Duchess of Cumberland and the Luttrells openly countenanced the amour of the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Armstead * * * joined that faction, and set themselves in open defiance of the King.

The first project was to make a ball for the Prince at Cumberland House; but the King forbad his servants going thither. The Duke then made a great dinner for the Prince's servants, to which, as I have said, the King would not permit them to go. The Duke was so enraged that he wrote a most insolent letter to the King, in which he told him he would go abroad, for this country was not fit for a gentleman to live in. The Duke, however, went to the Drawing-room again and continued to go, the Duchess having certainly told him that if he absented himself he would lose his influence over the Prince of Wales.

To the Queen's ball, as I have said, the Duke was not invited, yet went to Court the next day. At that ball the Prince got drunk, which threw him into a dangerous

fever, but such a general irruption over his whole face and body of the humours in his blood came out that it probably saved his life.

At this moment the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester came to town from Weymouth. The King as usual vented his complaints to the Duke of Gloucester. The King told the Duke that though, on the reconciliation, he had told the Duke of Cumberland that all his doors would be opened to him, "yet," said the King, "he comes to the Queen's house fourteen times a week to my son, the Prince, and passes by my door, but never comes in to me; and if he meets me there or when we are hunting, he only pulls off his hat and walks or rides away. I am ashamed," continued he, "to see my brother paying court to my son." The King resented it, and though he invited the principal persons who hunted to dinner, he never invited the Duke of Cumberland. The Prince of Wales * * * * * * seemed to be very weak and feeble. He drunk hard, swore, and passed every night in ——; such were the fruits of his being locked up in the palace of piety! He had in November protested against receiving Lord Chesterfield for a Lord of his Bedchamber on his odious character in having hanged his own tutor, Dr. Dodd, for forgery, with every aggravating circumstance of insensibility, and for having chosen Lord Sandwich for his patron; yet, in the month of March following, Lord Chesterfield grew a favourite with the Prince, who often drove him openly to Hyde Park in his chaise.

The King further informed the Duke of Gloucester of his brother Cumberland's outrageous letter, and said, "He has forced himself every day into my son's company, even when he was at the worst." The Duke said he wondered his Majesty had suffered it. "I don't know,"

replied the King, "*I do not care to part relations*"—a curious speech to a brother whom he himself had forbidden the Court! The Duke repeated this conversation to me, and entered much on the conduct of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland. The Luttrells, he said, were such infamous people that he never could bear to be connected with them. I said, "Sir, I beg your Royal Highness to have patience; your brother and his Duchess are playing the game into your hands. They will set the King and Prince at variance, and the sober part of the nation will condemn them. Your Royal Highness's prudence and virtue will appear. You meddle in no intrigues nor parties: nobody attached to you has ambition or views of fortunes. You will be the umpire or mediator between the King and Prince of Wales. I have already, Sir, begged the Duchess to laugh at the resort to the Duke of Cumberland's house, and told her she has nothing to do but to act with sense and prudence, and that the Duchess of Cumberland will do the reverse out of opposition to her. You, Sir, will see the moment come of serving your country and your family, and the King will at last be forced to do justice to your and the Duchess's virtues. The Prince of Wales loves you; keep well with him, give him good advice when you can; but, as your brother Cumberland will flatter his views, which would not become you to do, nor is it in your nature to do, do not prejudice him against you by giving advice but when he asks it, then it will make impression." "Oh!" cried the Duke, "he says he loves me, but that I preach too much; yet, I say very little." His Royal Highness then said these memorable words to me, which showed that his good heart and good sense had, like his *uncle* Cumberland's, profited by adversity: "*I thank God that I have such bad health. I was very am-*

bitious, but I have had time to reflect, and now I have no view of doing what is not right." I did not lose that opportunity, but repeated what I had said, that by patience and prudence he would have opportunity of serving his country and the Royal Family of which he was a member.

MARCH.

2*nd.* IT was given out by the rumours of the Court that the Emperor and the Czarina had offered to mediate a general peace, and that we, France, and Spain had accepted the mediation, though the treaty was to be negotiated at Vienna; and that Sir Joseph Yorke, who was just arrived from Holland, was to be joined with Keith, our Minister at Vienna, and was to set out without delay. Lord North, too, who was to have opened the Budget, put it off for two days on pretence of impartiality. The stocks rose six per cent. in two days on this intelligence, but soon fell again, as it appeared to be at least a very exaggerated account given out to raise them. The two Imperial Powers, it was said, had indeed made a defensive alliance, as if to enforce peace, and had offered us their mediation, but it did not appear that either France or Spain had accepted it; and if we had, yet the conviction of the Court discovered how little foundation there was for hoping peace would be made, as the Courtiers declared there must be no mention made of the independence of America, and Sir Joseph Yorke's journey was at least delayed.

5*th.* Sheridan moved to alter the Police of Westmin-

ster, it having been so defective on the late riots that it had been necessary to call out the military. The Court maintained the propriety of the latter and rejected the motion.

7th. Lord North opened the Budget and declared he should fund twenty-one millions to borrow twelve. It was severely handled on the partiality he had showed in disposing of the loan to Members of Parliament and favourites.

13th. An express that Sir George Rodney had taken St. Eustatia from the Dutch, with three millions of property, and with no loss. The Dutch Admiral was killed.

14th. Lord North opened the taxes on most excisable commodities.

15th. The Court partly rescinded a note that had passed in the Common Council for lending Guildhall to the deputies of the Associated Counties, and even broke off correspondence with them, declaring they had meant to disturb the peace of the City again. The borough of Cupar, in Scotland, went farther, and having received Mr. Hartley's pamphlet, stigmatized it as intending to promote rebellion, and published that opinion in all the papers.

The grand fleet which had been so long preparing sailed this week to relieve Gibraltar, twenty-eight ships-of-the-line, &c. This was a most desperate stroke; as large a French fleet was at Brest, and another Spanish as large at Cadiz. If they joined or enclosed ours, the odds were great; if they did not, the Channel was open to the French: we had no ships at home, nor a camp formed; and Portsmouth, Plymouth again, Newcastle, and many other parts of the island, were exposed to invasion. Hitherto France and Spain had not profited by any of the advantages

we threw in their way. It looked sometimes as if our Court had bribed some of the French Ministers to obstruct their measures. In March, 1781, the following anecdote was told by Monsieur de Genlis, who came over on some private business of his own. He was attached to the Duc de Chartres, and his wife had been that Prince's mistress, and was now governess of his daughters, for whose use she wrote 'Le Théâtre des Enfans.' He said that in 1779, when the French fleet under D'Orvilliers was to attack Plymouth and invade us with land forces, the Duc de Chartres was to accompany them. He left Mons. de Genlis at Brest with orders to send him a courier when D'Orvilliers was ready to sail, and the troops to be ready to embark on his being at Plymouth. The Duc broke a piece of money, kept one half, gave the other to Genlis, who was to send it at the proper moment, and on receipt of it the Duc would set out. D'Orvilliers was ready to sail, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark on the transports on his notice. Genlis sent the broken piece; on receiving it the Duc did not embark, but sent the other tally piece as a mark that he knew the troops would not go. They did not. We afterwards thought here that D'Orvilliers's retreat without landing, when he could, was owing to his having 12,000 or 15,000 of his seamen sick. I do not answer for the truth of Genlis's story, but he certainly told it.

Dean Tucker published his answer to Locke on Government. Dr. Bagot, Dean of Christchurch, published a most silly pamphlet against Dr. Bell, a Canon of Westminster, who had written on the Sacrament.

Bagot seemed to have written only to call Bishop Hoadley Socinian. Bishop Porteus, of Chester, on a complaint of Earl Ferrers, in the Lords, of the increase of Popery in

Cheshire, maintained that the number of Papists in general had decreased.

Lord Rockingham complained in the House of Lords of Lord North's extravagance and corruption on the Loan, and six or seven Lords protested.

22*nd.* Mr. Minchin, in the Commons, complained of great abuses in the Navy. The Courtiers replied by abusing the Association.

26*th.* Sir George Saville moved for an inquiry into Lord North's behaviour on the Loan. Mr. Byng produced numberless instances of his partiality in that affair. Drummond, the banker, had 84,000*l.* in his own name, and treble in those of his clerks. Charles Fox most severe on Lord North; the Lord Advocate alone defended him, but owned afterwards his conduct had been scandalous. The minority were about 160 to 203. The Dutch manifesto appeared, and proved contrary to our assertions, but they had been proceeding to give us satisfaction against Van Berchel and Amsterdam.

Lord Sandwich, to captivate the Navy, persuaded the King to give the private property at St. Eustatia to the captors. France had acted directly contrary when D'Estaing took the Grenadines. The West India merchants were alarmed at this savage and dangerous precedent, and remonstrated to Lord George Germaine. He told them the King had ordered it; but, though they pressed for a written answer, he was ashamed or did not dare to give it.

24*th.* Accounts of a new defeat of Carleton by the Americans, which stopped Lord Cornwallis, and Arnold was said to be blocked up by them.

The same day, *a much more alarming account came* by a French ship that was taken coming from the East Indies, and was bringing an account of Hyder Ally and the

Mharattas having cut to pieces Sir Hector Monro's little army, and probably being masters of Pondicherry. East India stock fell eight per cent.

31*st*. Account of some advantages recovered by Lord Cornwallis's parties, who had prevented the junction of the American Generals Morgan and Green. [*Vide* 'Gazette' of that night.]

APRIL.

AT this time debates in the Lords about compounding tythes, which the Chancellor opposed, and fell very roughly on Lord Sandwich and the Lord President, Bathurst. They defeated him in a division, yet, in a second debate, he got the matter postponed. He was believed to be at variance with the Ministers, whom he despised, and on all occasions treated with contempt and haughtiness. Everybody admired and allowed his abilities, but feared and disliked him. As Chancellor he gave great discontent; he was idle and, consequently, ill-informed, which made him delay decision of causes lest he should determine wrong, for he was timid at times, though often stout and oftener brutal.

At the end of the month, Lord North moved for a *secret* Committee to inquire into the neglects and mismanagement that had occasioned the late misfortunes in the East Indies. It was supposed to be chiefly aimed at Sir G. Rumbold. Burke, Charles Fox, and others contended for its being only a *select* Committee. Fox, in one of his capital speeches, was most justly severe on Lord North

for inviting inquiries into the conduct of others, and preventing all scrutiny into his own, which had brought too many disgraces and losses on us. He arraigned, too, the pusillanimity of a late proclamation, in which we submitted to a neutrality in the Baltic, if the French did attack us there. The secret Committee was preferred on a division of 134 to 80.

MAY.

4th. ACCOUNTS of Admiral Darby having relieved Gibraltar; the Spanish fleet having kept close in Cadiz, though with thirty-two ships to Darby's twenty-eight, and though he was so embarrassed with transports and store ships.

The Spanish fleet were said to be very sickly.

The conduct of the Prince of Wales began already to make the greatest noise, and proved how very bad his education had been, or rather that he had had little or none, but had only been locked up and suffered to keep company with the lowest domestics; while the Duke of Montague, and Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield, had thought of nothing but paying court to the King and Queen, and her German women. The Prince drank more publicly in the Drawing-room, and talked there irreligiously and indecently in the openest manner (both which were the style of the Duchess of Cumberland). He passed the nights in the lowest debaucheries, at the same time bragging of intrigues with women of quality, whom he named publicly. Both the Prince and the Duke talked of the King in the grossest terms even in his hearing, as he told the Duke of Gloucester, who asked him why he did not forbid his son

seeing his brother. The King replied that he feared the Prince would not obey him. The Duke of Cumberland dropped that he meant by this outrageous behaviour to force the King to yield to terms in favour of his Duchess, having gotten entire command over the Prince. The latter, however, had something of the duplicity of his grandfather, Prince Frederick, and, after drawing in persons to abuse the King, would betray them to the King. Nor in other respects did his heart turn to good. In his letters to Mrs. Robinson, his mistress, he called his sister, the Princess Royal, a poor child, "*that bandy-legged b—h*, my sister;" and, while he was talking of Lord Chesterfield in the most opprobrious terms, he was sending courier after courier to fetch him to town. That Lord's return produced a scene that divulged all that till now had been only whispered. One night, as soon as the King was gone to bed, the Prince, with St. Leger and Charles Windham, his chief favourites, and some of his younger servants, the Duke of Cumberland, and George Pitt, son of Lord Rivers, went to Blackheath to sup with Lord Chesterfield, who, being married, would not consent to send for the company the Prince required. They all got immediately drunk, and the Prince was forced to lie down on a bed for some time. On his return, one of the company proposed as a toast, "*A short reign to the King.*" The Prince, probably a little come to himself, was offended, rose and drank a bumper to "*Long live the King.*" The next exploit was to let loose a large fierce house-dog, and George Pitt, of remarkable strength, attempted to tear out his tongue. The dog broke from him, wounded Windham's arm, and tore a servant's leg. At six in the morning, when the Prince was to return, Lord Chesterfield took up a candle to light him, but was so drunk that he

fell down the steps into the area, and, it was thought, had fractured his skull. That accident spread the whole history of the debauch, and the King was so shocked that he fell ill on it, and told the Duke of Gloucester that he had not slept for ten nights, and that whenever he fretted the bile fell on his breast. As he was not ill on any of the disgraces of the war, he showed how little he had taken them to heart. Soon after this adventure, the King being to review a regiment on Blackheath, Lord Chesterfield offered him a breakfast, but the late affair had made such a noise that he did not think it decent to accept it.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, used to drink to Dr. Lee's being soon Chancellor of the Exchequer (a health of the same import), and without being drunk.

For the 'Public Advertiser,' 1782.

MODERN WIT—(*Blackheath*).

" Drink *like a Lord*, and *with* him, if you will.
Deep be the bumper: let no liquor spill;
No *daylight* in the glass, though through the night
You soak your senses till the morning light;
Then stupid rise, and with the rising sun
Drive the high car, a second *Phaeton*.
Let these exploits your fertile wit evince:
Drunk as a Lord, and happy as a Prince!" [1]

8*th*. Sir George Saville moved to hear the petition of the delegates of counties. It was rejected on pretence that delegates were not authorized persons, by 215 to 135. So large a minority on a topic no longer popular, showed what they might have done had not the Opposition been disunited.

10*th*. Accounts of Lord Cornwallis having been attacked by General Greene, whom he had defeated, though much

[1] See subsequent entry for 15th August.—D.

superior, and killed 2000 men, but with heavy slaughter of the Guards. The regular messenger, Captain Broderick, was not arrived.

14*th.* Burke moved for an inquiry into the conduct of Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, at St. Eustatia, and of their forfeitures and expulsions there: rejected by 160 to 56. In the former debate, Charles Fox shone transcendently, and drew a picture of the Chancellor, like an enraged bull, tossing, wounding, trampling on the rest of the Ministers whom he despised.

15*th.* Account of La Mothe Piquet, with ten ships, having waited at the mouth of the Channel for Commodore Hotham, who, with four men-of-war, was convoying home thirty transports laden with the plunder of St. Eustatia. La Mothe had taken about twenty-one; nine more and the men-of-war escaped into a port in Ireland. Great clamours rose amongst the merchants and insurers, who had demanded a large convoy to meet them from Lord Sandwich. It was now pleaded in his defence that we had but twelve ships at home, and those not half manned; yet, to that protection were we left, while Darby was gone to Gibraltar; and yet, France and Holland had not taken that opportunity, nor had Spain stirred to prevent us in our designs. If anything was more contemptible than our conduct, it was that of three such great Powers in league against us, without giving us a wound but this and the former capture of our merchantmen.

Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, being dead, that rich see was bestowed on Bishop North, the Minister's brother, who was succeeded in the mitre of Worcester by Hurd, of Lichfield, and he by Cornwallis, Dean of Canterbury, the Archbishop's nephew, and brother of Lord Cornwallis.

JUNE.

3*rd*. Captain Broderick arrived with the confirmation of Lord Cornwallis's victory over General Greene with 1600 men against 9000, and with another success since of Lord Rawdon over the same General Greene.

But though the Court had sounded the former as a decisive action, Broderick's account was most melancholy, and showed that it had been so far from a final defeat, that Greene had been already in force again and ready to attack Lord Rawdon. Besides this, the Carolinas were so hostile, though represented as ready to come over, that Cornwallis had not been able to get intelligence from a single person, nor could ever learn where the enemy was till he met them. He was equally in want of provisions and cloaks, and his army, which at his parting from Clinton had consisted of 17,000 men, was now reduced, excepting his detachments, to 1600.

About this time Mr. William Pitt, second son of the great Lord Chatham, made a most shining figure in Opposition.[1]

The East India Company resisted Lord North's demand of 600,000*l*., and were heard by Council at the bar of the House of Commons. Erskine shone in their defence, but without effect.

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[1] "Mr. William Pitt," Member for Sir James Lowther's close borough of Appleby, delivered his maiden speech in February of this year, in support of Burke's motion for Reforming the Civil List. His speech, early in June, on the American war, elicited praise even from his opponents. "He promises to be the first speaker ever heard in the House," said a Member to Fox. "He is that already" was the chivalrous, or rather the manly, reply of Charles Fox.—D.

Charles Fox, seconded by Lord Nugent, obtained leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Marriage Act.

9th. Account from Commodore Johnston of his having encountered and repelled an attack of five French men-of-war of the line at St. Iago. He had put Captain Sutton, of the Iris, under arrest for preventing his taking some of the enemy's ships.

11th. Debate on the bill for obliging the public accountants to pay the balance in their hands into the Treasury. T. Townshend and Charles Fox very severe on Lord North's indolence and eagerness to get hold of public money. The latter (Fox) vindicated his father as Paymaster, and attacked Rigby on his last year's inclination to quarrel with Lord North, and his time-serving since, for fear of being persecuted as Paymaster.

12th. Mr. Fox's motion for a Committee to consider the American war. He showed the impossibility of subduing America from Lord Cornwallis's last despatches in the 'Gazette.' Sir Thomas Clarges, who had constantly voted with the Administration, declared he had been deceived by them, and would support them no longer. Rigby, in answer to Charles Fox on the preceding day, affirmed that every man of consequence had, at one time or another, voted for the American war, and that to declare for peace now would be to encourage France. The motion was rejected by 172 to 99.

The Duke of Gloucester set out to see the Emperor who was come to Brussels. It was supposed that he went on some negotiation from the King.

14th. On the bill for preventing abuse of Sunday, Lord Abingdon made a bitter and well-deserved invective on the bishops for their hypocrisy, and for their bloody votes on the American war. The same day the Chancellor was

beaten, with three more, by 27, he endeavouring to prevent the bill for commutation of tithes.

15*th*. Charles Fox carried the commitment of his bill for repealing the Marriage Act by 90 to 27. Mr. Courtney made a much admired speech for the repeal.

A little before this, Lord George Gordon had set himself at the head of the Methodists, and was received with the highest respect by them at a meeting of the Governors of the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park, that sect getting into their own hands the management of that charity. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham resigned their seats, and Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State, was disposed to do so too; but the Court thought it advisable for him to remain there as some check on them.

The Duke of Gloucester made a short trip to visit the Emperor, who was come to Brussels. This was supposed to be a political visit, but was not so. The Emperor told his Royal Highness he had a great inclination to come to England, but it would give too much jealousy to the other European Powers; and he added, "If one wished to serve *you* (meaning England) it would be to no purpose, you are too obstinate." *That* was most true; the King, Lord Hillsborough, and a few more would still listen to no terms with America, though all the other Ministers saw it desperate, and though all who came thence assured them so. Dalrymple pressed Lord North on that head, told him how few troops remained, begged him to talk with Governor Martin—"Why," said North, "Martin advised the last expedition." "He did so," said Dalrymple, "but now sees that he was mistaken on every point, and will tell you so;" but Lord North declined it, and probably did not want to be confirmed in that opinion, but had not honesty enough to combat the King's obstinacy. The Emperor told the Duke that we

had offered Gibraltar to Spain for a separate peace, but it had been rejected.

Lord North compounded with the East India Company for 400,000*l.*

28*th.* Last week was sold by auction the very valuable library of an honourable representative[2] of Westminster,* and which had been taken, with all his effects, in execution. Amongst the books there was Mr. Gibbon's first volume of the 'Roman History,' and which appeared by the title page to have been given by the author to his honourable friend, who thought proper to subscribe the following anecdote:—"'The author at Brookes' said, there was no salvation for this country until six heads of the principal persons in Administration were laid on the table." Eleven days after this same gentleman accepted a place of Lord of Trade under those very Ministers, and has acted with them ever since. Such was the avidity of bidders for the smallest production of so wonderful a genius, that by the addition of this little record the book sold for three guineas.

Bate, the author of the 'Morning Post,' sentenced to a year's imprisonment for an atrocious libel on the Duke of Richmond, whose virtues were celebrated even by the King's Judges.

Nothing could be more disgraceful to the Court than this conviction of Bate. He was the worst of all the scandalous libellers that had appeared both on private persons as well as public. His life was dissolute, he had fought more than one duel, and had avowed persecution of the Duke of Richmond, whom he hated for naming him in the House of Lords. Even after conviction, and before sen-

* Mr. Charles Fox.

tence, he had insulted and challenged the Duke; yet Lord Sandwich had procured for him a good Crown living, and he was believed to be pensioned by the Court, as well as Shebbeare.

Great altercations in both Houses on the peculiar severities to American prisoners, on complaints by Charles Fox and the Duke of Richmond. The Lord-Advocate was grossly abusive on the Opposition for supporting rebels, and against Charles Fox, who had been as bitter on the Scotch for having formerly committed so many rebellions. Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough, was as angry at the Duke for reflecting on the poverty of Scotland. Both motions were rejected. The Chancellor, who took every opportunity of differing with the Ministers, particularly Lord Bathurst and Lord Sandwich, and indeed almost with everybody, took no part against the Duke of Richmond; and when the alterations in the Marriage Bill came from the other House, he paid the highest compliments to Charles Fox, the author, though he opposed its been decided so very late in the session, and it was rejected.

JULY.

12*th.* Account of the junction of Lord Cornwallis and Arnold.

14*th.* Trial of Monsieur La Mothe, a spy, after four months of close imprisonment, convicted on the evidence of his accomplice, a Hessian, and most infamous wretch.

Lord Mulgrave returned; he had been on an expedition against Flushing, but his pilots proved ignorant of the road.

Keene, Bishop of Ely, died this month; succeeded by Dr. Yorke, Bishop of Gloucester.

18*th.* The Parliament rose.

27*th.* Monsieur De la Mothe executed at Tyburn, for being a spy.

At the end of this month, Monsieur Hardenberg, a Hanoverian nobleman, who had lately come over with his wife, a very pretty woman, and taken house at Old Windsor, suddenly took her away at three o'clock in the morning, and carried her out of England, saying he should return and fetch his children. The report was that he had found the Prince of Wales with her. That would not have been extraordinary; but the remarkable part of the story was, that the Queen had for some time been taxed in the public papers as endeavouring to give her son a German mistress, as it had been suspected that he had brought over Madame de Busch, another pretty Hanoverian lady, at the beginning of the winter, with the same view. It was certain that her attendants did give out that

it would be less dangerous for the Prince to have a German than an English mistress; and yet, though the Queen had been aspersed for this, the Hardenbergs were not sent away, as the King could certainly have done in a moment if he had pleased. It was not consonant to the affected piety of either to countenance their son in adultery.

AUGUST.

4th. CONFIRMATION of the loss of Tobago, published in the 'Gazette.' Pensecola also taken.

9th. Gazette extraordinary on the engagement of Admiral Parker with seven ships against eight Dutch.

" *15th.* A great ball at Windsor on the birthday of the Prince of Wales. The Duke of Cumberland was there, though he had been at neither at the Queen's house; but it was supposed he was now invited to please the Prince, over whom he had great influence. The Prince told the Marquis of Graham that he never recollected the night he had passed at Lord Chesterfield's, at Greenwich, without regret, and that he was determined never to be drunk again.

The King and Prince went to see Admiral Parker and the fleet at the Nore. Parker declined receiving knighthood, and it was said complained of not having been sufficiently strengthened.[1]

" *25th.* Account of Cornwallis's defeating La Fayette and a body of 2000, by seeming to retire and affecting weakness.

[1] There were several men-of-war in the Nore, in the Downs, and off Harwich, which were lying idle, but with whose aid Parker could have destroyed the whole Dutch fleet.—D.

SEPTEMBER.

ADMIRAL Parker, notwithstanding the King's flattery to him, resigned his command.

Admiral Darby had returned suddenly to Torbay, having been informed by a Portuguese ship that the combined fleets were approaching. This was confidently contradicted, and it was said that he had mistaken a homeward-bound fleet of French merchantmen for the French and Spanish fleets, and instead of taking it had run away from it; but on the

3rd it was known that the combined fleets, to the amount of forty-seven ships of the line, were off Scilly. The French had joined them for some time, and the King of Spain had forced even convicts to man the fleet. Great secrecy was observed on the destination of this great armament. Our Ministers had no intelligence, and thought it designed both against Gibraltar and Minorca. They now learned that on the 22nd of July nineteen French and thirty Spanish ships of the line had sailed from Cadiz, but steered to Cape St. Vincent, and the next day an enormous convoy of sixty-eight embarkations, with 8,500 men, and everything necessary for besieging Minorca, had been seen off Carthagena: the 28th the rest were come into the Channel. Darby, with only twenty-two ships, did not dare to stir out of Torbay. Orders were sent to Keith Stewart, who had succeeded Parker, to join Darby.

In the midst of this alarm, Alderman Hayley, one of the Members of the City of London, was dead, and,

amongst others, Lord George Gordon presented himself as a candidate to succeed him.

The Court had been trying for peace, but with this absurdity, that, as if dictating not suing for peace, the King would not admit any mention of America, wildly supposing that France, Spain, and Holland would leave him at liberty to pursue the war in America, to defeat him in which they had gone to war with him.

It is very remarkable that Lord George Gordon, in his letter to Lord North, threatened the Court with having a strong party in the army. The business of the King and Lord Mansfield had been, from the death of the late King, to crowd the army and navy with Scotch officers and Scotch soldiers; and now these were held out as the least disposed to favour the arbitrary views of the Court; and it is very true that in the riots against popery in the preceding year the private men in the Coldstream regiment of Guards had avowedly declared their favour towards Lord George Gordon, and would take no part against him, though their officers took pains to indispose them to him. Still his menaces were more vapour than reality, as they had been before. He had bragged the last year that thousands from different counties would march to support him—not a man had moved to his assistance but the lowest of the mob in London. He had worse success now, though he had taken a wiser step, and courted the Methodists, and had gained such an ascendant at the Lock Hospital, where they ruled, that they received him, whenever he came to chapel there, with the respect shown to an Apostle, and always made a lane for him to pass. The Duke of Richmond, in disgust, had resigned his seat there as one of the Governors, and Lord Hillsborough would have done so too, but the Court insisted on his remaining

as a check. Still the horrors which Lord George Gordon had occasioned the last year had left such an impression, the dread of seeing those scenes renewed and their houses burnt, the total want of any new provocation in favour of popery, the alarm occasioned by the superiority of the combined fleets in the Channel at that moment, and the apprehensions of the merchants for the Jamaica fleet worth 4,000,000*l.*, which was daily expected, and which it was supposed the French and Spanish fleets lay off Scilly to intercept,—these circumstances, with the activity of the other candidates, the disinclination towards a Scotch representative, and one so vile an incendiary of their city, with pains taken by the Court to decry him, all threw so total a damp on his cause, and the Association for preserving the peace of the City was so determined to quash his measures, that Lord George gave up the pursuit before the election came on, pretending it was to prevent those combustions of which he had been the principal author, and perhaps hoped again to be so; though, with all these pretences to religion, he was as profligate as Wilkes, who at least was no hypocrite, and in imitation of Wilkes he would often laugh at his followers, and vaunt that they would not believe any ill of him. Such villanous conduct took off from the credit and credibility of his insanity.

The combined fleets, suffering by or dreading the equinoctial winds, returned to Brest and Cadiz. Admiral Darby, with only twenty-six sail, sailed from Torbay, but the enemy was gone some time before he appeared off Scilly.

Sir George Rodney arrived in England, and the Leeward Island fleet at Cork.

30*th.* Sir Watkyn Lewes, Lord Mayor, was, on a scrutiny, declared Member for London by a majority of above

200 against Clarke, the candidate supported by the Court.

Sir Joseph Yorke was at this time privately employed by the King to negotiate with some of the leading men in Holland for a separate peace. This was the constant contemptible conduct of the Court, to bully itself into war, and then meanly solicit a peace underhand.

OCTOBER.

15*th.* Account of Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood, with thirty-nine sail, having attacked the French fleet of twenty-four, under Monsieur De Grasse, at the mouth of the Chesapeak, and being defeated, and having lost about 300 men, and been forced to blow up a 74-gun ship.[1] Great apprehensions at the same time for Lord Cornwallis, who was endeavouring to return to New York, and was supposed to be between the fire of the Americans and French.

16*th.* Nineteen Indiamen arrived immensely rich.

The Irish Parliament met on the 9th. Extraordinary compliments paid to Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden; but the Opposition obtained leave to have the *Volunteers* thanked, and that term specified (which the Speech had sunk), for their late loyal offers on the combined fleets being in the Channel. The Court wanted to draw them into accepting the King's commission, and Lord Loughborough had been over to Dublin with that view. The Castle soon carried a question by above 100 to forty odd.

[1] This account was a gross exaggeration, as a reference to any naval history will show.—D.

The King, talking to Lord Hertford, said, "I know my enemies are superior everywhere. I am as desirous of peace as any man; but how can I make it, when France and Spain are so unreasonable?" He dropped that they demanded Gibraltar and Port Mahon, but he himself had offered the more important, the former. It is much more probable that what was said at Paris was true, that the Emperor had offered to make peace for us, and that the King had answered, "*I want nobody to make peace for me*; when France and Spain, who make unjust war on me, will make me amends, I shall be ready to make peace."

Lord H. told me that the Americans had very recently offered to make peace with us on worse terms than we had offered, and that Lord North was for agreeing with them, yet that none of his friends could prevail on him to declare for that side; that Lord Sandwich and Lord George Germaine, though mortal enemies, humoured the King in his resolution of not allowing the Americans independence, as the only means of keeping in place themselves.

NOVEMBER.

3*rd*. Colonel Robert Conway, aide-de-camp to Sir H. Clinton, arrived express from him to represent the desperate posture of affairs. Lord Cornwallis was in most imminent danger of being enveloped and starved by the Americans and French, the latter having landed 4000 men, and Lord Cornwallis having provisions but for a month or six weeks. The French had taken Lord Rawdon, and the Congress demanded him of them, to hang in revenge for one of theirs he had hanged; but it was not supposed the French would give him up. Sir H. Clinton was going on an expedition to try to relieve Lord Cornwallis; but they were so ill together, that Sir Henry had owned to Conway that he was determined to challenge Lord Cornwallis after the campaign. Eight ships of the line had joined the French in the Chesapeak, and they were now thirty-seven to twenty-three, of which latter many had suffered much in the late engagement under Graves. Admiral Digby now commanded, and was determined, it was said by positive orders, to attack the French. Conway told his father, Lord Hertford, that every Captain in the navy disapproved, yet from bravery would not oppose it. The French had taken three of our frigates. Arnold had burnt New London and taken great quantity of the rebel stores, but lost two regiments in the attack, who were cut to pieces. This victory was all that was mentioned in the 'Gazette' of all Conway brought. He told his father we had not a friend left in America.

The York Association printed a new declaration, in which they apologized for and softened many of their pretensions; but it made not the least noise out of the county.

25*th*. A packet-boat that had carried the Comte de Jarnac from Dover to Calais brought back a French 'Gazette,' with an account of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army having been made prisoners at York Town by General Washington, at the head of the French and Americans. This was soon confirmed by an express from Sir Henry Clinton, who, on hearing the news, had retired with his troops and the fleet to New York, and had luckily not attacked the French fleet, very superior and drawn up at the mouth of the Chesapeak, fortified on both sides by strong redoubts. He had certainly been deceived originally by Washington's feint of attacking New York.

This news threw the Court and Administration into great confusion and distress. It came on the Sunday, and the Parliament was to open on Tuesday, 27th. They had little time to prepare or alter the Speech, and so it appeared; for though it affected great firmness and resolution of carrying on the war, it ridiculously passed, after one short paragraph on the new disgrace, to the East Indies, whence there was no new account, but where it pretended we had great success. It reminded men of the famous Speech at the time of the remonstrances, which talked only of the disease amongst the horned cattle. Lord Fielding, son of Lord Denbigh, who was to have moved the Address in the Commons, and had prepared his speech, avoided being as ridiculous as the Royal Speech, by excusing himself. All the chiefs of the Opposition were come to town, though not much more agreed than they had been; and Lord Shelburne, in a very long and severe speech, ar-

raigned the whole conduct of the Ministers, and proposed an amendment to the Address, which had been moved by Lord Southampton.

Lord Southampton was Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales, and had probably been selected for moving the Address to insinuate that the Prince approved his father's measures. Yet the Prince had not been acquainted with this designation till the moment before, when, asking who was to move, the King told him. The Prince complained of this to his uncle the Duke of Gloucester the next day; and his other uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, complained of it loudly the next day. Lord Southampton got into another scrape, for, thinking his brother, the Duke of Grafton, had alluded to something he had said, but in which he mistook the Duke, instead of calling him his noble relation, according to form, he only said he had great respect for the Duke's high rank.

The Duke of Richmond followed Lord Shelburne, and dwelt with reason on the horrid Tenth Article of the capitulation signed by Lord Cornwallis, in which he demanded that the loyal Americans should not be punished, and, though that was refused, he had signed the capitulation.

I must stop to mark that shocking proceeding. The newspapers on the Court side had been crammed with paragraphs for a fortnight, saying that Lord Cornwallis had declared he would never pile up his arms like Burgoyne; that is, he would rather die sword in hand. He probably had made no such declaration, or, if he had, it was not known here. However, it cast a deeper shade on his surrender. He certainly ought, on the refusal of the Tenth Article, to have declared he would die rather than sacrifice the poor Americans who had followed him from

loyalty against their countrymen: he should have tried whether that would not have softened the enemy. At last, even if his army had surrendered themselves, he might have refused to sign the articles—there have been such instances; on the contrary, he stipulated for his own leave to return home, and abandoned those deluded troops. It has been justly said, that, having capitulated for his garrison, the American troops were included, and to put them to death would have been a breach of the articles. To this it was answered, that perhaps the Americans, doubting their countrymen, had desired to be specified. I should scarce think they desired him to make use of the word *punished*; still, when he had been refused, he ought to have struggled for them to the last moment. He or Lord Rawdon had set an example of such cruel warfare—had just hanged an American officer that had deserted them; and the American General Green had recently published a proclamation in which he declared he would retaliate, not on American but on English officers—but the latter Lord Cornwallis secured. This sacrifice was severely handled, too, by Mr. Burke and Mr. William Pitt in the House of Commons. It was a virtual end to the war: could one American, unless those shut up in New York and Charles Town, even out of prudence and self-preservation, declare for England, by whose General they were so unfeelingly abandoned?

At the conclusion of the Duke of Richmond's speech he reverted to the corruption of the Constitution, and pleaded for annual parliaments and more equal representation; and he said, as he saw these not likely to be obtained, he believed he should come little more to Parliament.[1] This was one of the great evils produced by

[1] He did go out of town soon after. It was suspected that Lord Shelburne, out of jealousy, had put the Duke on that declaration.

the absurdity of the Yorkshire Associators. They deprived the country of the honestest and most useful man in the House of Lords at such a moment! When every mouth should have been opened to pull down a set of Ministers who had brought such ruin and disgrace on their country, was that a time to distract the best men with speculative opinions, and on which by their being speculative no hundred men in England would agree?

The Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, and a few more kept up the attack, which was feebly repelled, directly by Lord Denbigh, and by no Minister but Lord Stormont. Lord Sandwich said not a word, nor Lord Mansfield, who always was dumb when the Court was unprosperous, hoping it would be forgotten how principal an adviser he had been of the war. The Chancellor made merely an official speech—he was not inclined to favour the Ministers, whom he despised and hated. But if the nation was alarmed, and the Ministers thunderstruck, the venal Peers and Bishops were not dismayed—at least not ashamed, for the amendment was rejected by 75 to 31.

The House of Commons was as tenacious of pensions and places; and after a debate that lasted till two in the morning, the same amendment failed by the votes of 218 to 129. The attack was made chiefly on Lord George Germaine and Lord Sandwich, and indeed even by the former on the latter, insomuch that Mr. Fox said he intended to impeach the Earl, and should depend on Lord George as his principal evidence. The rest of the debate will be found in the publications of the time.

The King himself, on the 30th, told the Duke of Gloucester that Lord Sandwich had been with him and with Lord North, and had insisted that Lord George should publicly, in the House of Commons, recant what he had

said; but Lord George preferred disavowal, and protested he had not meant what was imputed to him. He and Lord Sandwich had long been at open enmity, and their partizans in the newspapers had written abusively against each respectively.

28*th*. On the report of the Address there was a more remarkable, though a much shorter debate. Mr. W. Pitt again made a most brilliant figure to the admiration of all men of all sides; but it was the Lord Advocate who occasioned more surprise. Affecting great frankness, he seemed to adopt the language of Opposition, who both then and the day before had called on the Ministers to declare whether, as the Speech seemed to announce, they meant to persist in the war in America. He seemed to accuse Ministers of disunion, and to blame some who did not in Council deliver their sincere opinions; but the day was at hand, he said, that would force them to speak out. With all this air of frankness few knew what he meant, nor whom he meant to blame, and the more he was pressed the more obscure and shuffling he grew. Charles Fox did urge him home to declare whom he blamed, and what the day was on which he was to extort truth. He immediately said it was kind to except Lord North, for everybody's eyes had been turned on him; but the Advocate evaded all further reply, and would only say that the decision would be made when the vote for the army should come into question.

The solution of this enigmatic speech was, I believe, very much this. The Lord Advocate was more connected with his countryman Lord Loughborough, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, than with any man, and little with the other Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield. But as the Scotch always affect attachment to some considerable English

Minister, the Advocate acted devotion to Lord North, but was more connected with Rigby, a great patron of the Scots. Rigby did not love Lord North, but the Commission of accounts that had grown out of the Associations, and had been yielded to by Lord North to prevent further concessions, had gone so far into abuses and waste, that they had drawn up a heavy charge against the Pay Office, which was ready to be laid before Parliament, and in which they stated the necessity of the Paymaster's paying in the money in his hands, four or five hundred thousand pounds. This had so alarmed Rigby that he softened towards Lord North, and wished to get more and heartier friends into the Administration. He had even gone so far at the beginning of the summer as to endeavour to have Lord George Germaine removed, and the Lord Advocate made Secretary of State—a choice outrageously absurd and that must have disgusted everybody—if anybody would be disgusted.

The Advocate was very able, but had not the least experience in State affairs, was the rankest of all Scotchmen, and odious for that bloody speech that had fixed on him the nick-name of *Starvation*. That attempt was now to be renewed, and it was supposed in concert with Rigby, the Chancellor, Lord Weymouth, and Lord Gower; but the King was totally averse to their plan, and had no mind to have in Administration so many men united together, and consequently less dependent on himself. One of the great maxims of his reign had been to break all parties and connections. He forgave any offence to any man who would leave his friends and be attached only to him.

I have guessed right, for on December 1st, being with the Duke of Gloucester, who was just come from the King, and he mentioning the Lord Advocate's speech, I said that,

frank as it had pretended to be, people were not clear what he had meant. "Oh!" said the Duke, "I will tell you what he meant; he thought he should frighten Lord George Germaine to give up the seals, and that he should have them that evening." I said, "Sir, it is supposed that both Lord George and Lord Sandwich are to go out." He replied, "I assure you the King will part with neither. Lord Sandwich was exceedingly angry at what Lord George said against him on the first day of the session, and has been both with Lord North and the King to complain, and insisted on Lord George's making a public recantation. He was to have made it yesterday, and I went to the House on purpose to hear it," said the Duke; "but Lord George chose to eat his words, and protested he had not meant Lord Sandwich." However, on December 4th Lord George did make a sort of apology to Lord Sandwich in the House.

The Duke of Gloucester had come to town, as usual, on the opening of Parliament, and stayed five days, in which he was three times with the King, who, as if he had not used the Duke ill, opened his mind to him on his son the Prince of Wales, and his own brother the Duke of Cumberland, the latter of whom he said was governed by Charles Fox and Fitzpatrick, and governed the Prince of Wales, whom they wanted to drive into Opposition. "When we hunt together," said the King, "neither my son nor my brother speak to me; and lately, when the chace ended at a little village where there was but a single post-chaise to be hired, my son and brother got into it and drove to London, leaving me to go home in a cart if I could find one." He added that when at Windsor, where he always dined at three, and in town at four, if he asked the Prince to dine with him, he always came at four at Windsor and in town at five, and

all the servants saw the father waiting an hour for the son. That since the Court was come to town the Duke of Cumberland carried the Prince to the lowest places of debauchery, where they got dead drunk, and were often carried home in that condition. "I wonder," said the Duke, "that your Majesty bears all this." "What would you have me do," said the King, "in my *present distress?* If I did not bear it, it would only drive my son into Opposition, which would increase my distresses." The Duke said to me, "I know the King's faults; I do not forget his treatment of me; but I must pity him for being so ill-used by a son." In those conversations the King boasted that, notwithstanding all the bad news, the stocks did not fall. "I know," said the Duke, "that the true reason was that people concluded that there must now be peace." Another reason was that the Empress of Russia had been trying to make a separate peace between England and Holland, and many Dutch thought it would have taken place if the news of Lord Cornwallis's misfortune had not arrived just then. That prospect of peace had raised English stock in Holland, which rebounded hither.

29*th*. Mr. Burke moved for an inquiry into the conduct of Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan at St. Eustatia. They had plundered notoriously, and many suits were actually commenced against them in the courts of law. The Ministers made a wretched fight for them, yet threw out the motion. However, many who voted in the majority declared they had given a very flagrant vote indeed. This was one of the symptoms of the profligacy of the times; men did not scruple to avow their corruption.

30*th*. T. Pitt moved to stop the supplies till there was redress of grievances, and pledged himself as answerable

for that motion; but it was rejected as usual. Burke said Lord Sandwich had so lost all credit that no man would take his evidence even against himself. Lord Stormont went further. Lord Hertford told me he heard him in conversation, in the House of Lords, say that we had no intelligence; that he had done his utmost repeatedly to have cutters lay off the French seaports to get information, but could not prevail on Lord Sandwich to grant them.

DECEMBER.

An express from Sir Horace Mann, at Florence, brought an account of General Murray having rejected a bribe of a million of dollars from the Duc de Crillon to betray St. Philip's to him, and assuring him he would contrive to save his honour. This was not mentioned in the 'Gazette.' In short, both the King and Lord North almost studiously disgusted all the soldiers and seamen they employed—Lord North from laziness, the King from pride. They seldom examined even the officers who came with expresses. The King never mentioned to Colonel Harcourt his taking General Lee prisoner. General Vaughan, perfectly their creature, and now returned from the capture of St. Eustatia, was taken no notice of by the King, and declared that he had been so ill-used, he would resign if his honour would let him.

4th. The long account against the Pay-Office was delivered to the House of Commons and printed.

The Livery of London voted an admirable and most severe remonstrance to the King against the continuation

of the American war, which they said the Speech threatened. They besought the King to remove both his public and *private* counsellors, and used these stunning and memorable words: "*Your armies are captured; the wonted superiority of your navies is annihilated, your dominions are lost.*" Words that could be used to no other King: no King had ever lost so much, without losing all. If James II. lost his Crown, yet the Crown lost no dominions.

At that meeting of the Livery a Mr. Hersford declared that he had written a vindicatory paragraph in behalf of Admiral Graves against abuse on him; and though he had carried it to the press himself, and offered to avow it, and gave his name, he could get it inserted but in one single paper. This was one of the great grievances of the time. Macpherson, the editor of 'Ossian,' had a pension of 800*l.* a year from Court for inspecting newspapers, and inserted what lies he pleased, and prevented whatever he disapproved of being printed. He and Galloway, an American renegade, and the still more infamous Bate, were the editors of the most profligate abuse; sometimes they attacked the Ministers, partly to make their scandals against the Opposition more credited. Galloway took a more artful way, which was to impute all the miscarriages of the war to the Admirals and Generals—as if the Ministers had taken any wise measures!

The King sent by the Lord Chamberlain to the Lord Mayor, that he would not receive their address on the Throne, to which they had no pretensions by custom, but in their corporate capacity, therefore they must bring it to the levée. The same answer had been given to them six years before. The Livery met again on that answer; but as the Court had now a stronger party in the Common Council, they could not prevail to carry their address, and therefore

would not deliver it at the levée, with which the Lord Mayor acquainted the Lord Chamberlain. I think they did submit to deliver it at the levée.

The day before the Sheriffs went to know when the King would receive the address, he said to a young man who was hunting with him, "I must go to town to-morrow to receive those fellows in furs; they will not be very glad to see me, nor I them."

5*th*. Debate on the navy. Parliamentary debates were now so common in various publications that I shall not detail them here. That debate, however, was remarkable from the many assertions of Lord Mulgrave in favour of Lord Sandwich's attention to building ships, which were refuted and disproved by different Members.

10*th*. A great meeting of the Westminster voters in Westminster Hall to consider of a petition similar to the City's. It was moved by Charles Fox and approved, but with the utmost tranquillity, for the people, though in vast numbers, seemed to be perfectly indifferent, and to have assembled only from curiosity. Yet the Court, fearing or *hoping* a tumult, had a large body of Guards in readiness.

11*th* was the day appointed for voting the army, when the Lord Advocate had declared the Ministers would be forced to speak out. A few days before Charles Fox asked him whether the Ministers would speak out then? That *honest* man said, "I believe not, but *do press them*."

Before the question could come on, Sir James Lowther made a motion to vote any further attempts in America ineffectual and censurable. This was rather injudicious, as it gave the Ministers an opportunity of opposing that affirmative without declaring their intention. Lord North did so, and asked whether they would give up the posts we possessed, and that it would be declaring where we were

strong, where weak. Dunning in an excellent speech replied, "Everybody knew where we were weak, and nobody where we were strong." The Lord Advocate pretended to understand Lord North declaring against a land war. Charles Fox pressed Lord North over and over to say if that was his meaning, but he would not say a word more. Lord George Germaine talked of the great unanimity amongst the Ministers, in which no mortal believed him. Burke made a very wild, passionate speech; he was now grown so heated, and uttered such rhapsodies, that he was generally very ill heard. The Ministers had been apprehensive that such repeated ill success would weaken their numbers; and though they had taken infinite pains, and the Opposition none, to collect their respective friends, the motion was rejected but by a majority of 41.

14*th* was another remarkable day; the army was to be voted. Jenkinson, Secretary at War, pleaded that the moderation of the estimate was a proof that it was not meant to pursue an offensive war in America. Lord George Germaine affirmed that he had opposed the motion of the other day, as it seemed to tend to a declaration of abandoning the posts we still possessed. For his part, he did not know[1] what was the opinion of the other Ministers; but for his own, he had always said, and still thought, that the moment the independence of America should be owned this country was no more, and that therefore he would certainly never consent to sign that independence. Sir George Saville made a speech of much wit in ridicule of addresses, re-echoing the King's Speech, and (alluding to the partiality towards Scotland) said he was persuaded that, if the speech was to begin with the old song, '*What*

[1] A proof of the union amongst them!

beauties does Flora disclose,' the address would immediately reply, '*How sweet are her smiles upon Tweed.*' Lord North affected to speak out, and to declare that he did not mean to continue a war for reducing America to obedience; but it was with so many exceptions and evasions, that scarce anything could be collected from it

General Conway made a very fine speech, with great spirit and severity against the conduct of Administration, which had reduced us to the total necessity of allowing the independence of America, which he confessed he now thought must be granted; and he bitterly condemned the 10th Article of Lord Cornwallis's capitulation, which abandoned the Americans, and which he said was so deep a disgrace that he was persuaded Lord Cornwallis must have been forced by his own troops to have signed, or that he would have died rather than sign it. After him, young William Pitt took to pieces Lord North's pretended declarations, which he had minuted down, and exposed them with the most amazing logical abilities, exceeding all the abilities he had already shown, and making men doubt whether he would not prove superior even to Charles Fox. Rigby, who was looking out for new support, seized that occasion to flatter the young genius in the highest terms, and said he should be more afraid of answering him than even his great father Lord Chatham: but he had no reason to fear, for his whole speech rather went to support Pitt's attack on the war, which Rigby declared he was *now* convinced he had been wrong in supporting. He openly condemned Lord George Germaine's adherence to it, and even blamed his old ally Sandwich's conduct of the navy, for he never spared any old friend or was true to him when he thought it his interest to seek for new. Before he spoke he had been in a whisper with Lord North, who was sup-

posed to concur with him in that breach; and Rigby had private meetings with Robinson, the active Secretary of the Treasury, and had sent for Lord Weymouth from Longleat to meet him privately at Drummond's to communicate their measures. Mr. Fox called on the Lord Advocate to speak out as he had promised the other day, and said it would become his manly character. The Lord Advocate (perhaps having been softened by his Scotch friends, or having found that he had displeased the King) replied angrily that he would maintain his own character, and if others looked to theirs they would have enough to do. He said he had engaged himself to nothing, and that the estimates of the army showed that the Ministers did not mean to carry on the American war in the former manner. Lord Nugent declared loudly against continuance of that war, and at eleven at night the estimate was voted by 166 to 84.

17*th.* Came an account of Sir Eyre Coote having gained a great victory over Hyder Ally.

The same day—advice that Admiral Kempenfelt, with twenty-four ships, had fallen in with the French embarkation for the West Indies, from Brest, which had but fourteen ships, but a vast number of transports, twenty of which had struck to him, and that Commodore Elliot was engaged with Vaudreuil the Admiral, and had dismasted his ship.

This account transported the Court and town, who expected every minute to hear of a great victory: but on the 18*th*, in the afternoon, Admiral Kempenfelt sent word he had found five more men-of-war than he expected, of 110 guns and 112; and that, not venturing to attack so superior a force, he had retired, and the French were proceeding on their voyage—nor did above seven or eight transports taken arrive.

This disappointment occasioned the utmost alarm for the West Indies (Sir George Rodney being still wind-bound at Brest), and as great indignation against Lord Sandwich, who had either not had proper intelligence, or had sent Kempenfelt with so inferior a force, though we had six more ships lying idle in the Downs. Lord Rockingham, Admiral Keppel, and Charles Fox had said publicly on the 17th that Lord Sandwich was mistaken, and that Kempenfelt would have found nineteen or twenty men-of-war at Brest.

This proved fully what Lord Stormont had said the first day of the session, that Lord Sandwich would employ no means to obtain intelligence. His negligence on this occasion was inconceivable, as a victory, and disappointment of the French embarkation, would have procured personal glory to him and established him firmly.

19*th.* Lord Rockingham, in the House of Lords, attacked Lord Sandwich on this fatal step; he defended himself poorly, and no one Minister took his part but Lord Stormont, and he faintly.

20*th.* Most pressing letters were issued from the Treasury to summon Members, on pretence that Lord Sandwich was to be violently attacked in the House of Commons; but I believe this was an artifice of Rigby and that faction to stir up that attack. I believe so for these reasons: it was the last day before the Parliament was to rise; most of the leaders of the Opposition were out of town, and the rest had no such intention then; yet the Chancellor told the King there were to be twelve motions against Lord Sandwich; and Lord Graham, probably from the Lord Advocate, told me he expected Sandwich would be impeached; so far from it, the only opposition arose from George Byng, who, hearing Sir Grey Cooper propose to

adjourn, cried, "Good God! adjourn now, when we ought to sit even in the holidays to inquire into this late miscarriage?" T. Townshend and Charles Fox recalled to mind how during such an adjournment the French war had broken out. Lord Mulgrave, as Sandwich himself had done the day before, assumed honour for him on what had been done; yet the fault was so flagrant that they were forced to agree that there should be a formal inquiry after the holidays, Lord North pretending that Sandwich himself desired it.

21*st*. The Parliament adjourned. Some other incidents before or after this must be mentioned.

On one of General Conway's speeches, in which he blamed Lord Sandwich, Colonel Keene, Lord North's brother-in-law and intimate friend, whispered some particular fact against Lord Sandwich to him, "which," said Keene, "you might have added." Lord Camden suspected that Lord North was willing to suffer a suppression of the places of the Tellers, one of which was held by Lord Camden's son, and another by Lord Temple, both in Opposition, and perhaps of others, as the vastness of those places had made them so obnoxious, that though it was probable the present possessors would be suffered to enjoy their rights, yet it was imagined that a stop would be put to any successors. The Auditor's place, the greatest of all the present places, was not likely to be continued. It had indubitably been the great object of Lord North: if suppressed after the Duke of Newcastle's death, North could not get it, and might therefore be willing to punish others. The King could not lament the suppression, for they who hold patent places are independent, and all those incomes would come into his own pockets. There seemed, too, to be some private check upon the Commissioners, for the

report on the Auditors of Impost (two of the largest sinecures) was kept back, and one of them was actually possessed by Lord Bute's son, Lord Mountstewart.

Lord North had certainly not discouraged Rigby and the Lord Advocate's plan to remove Lord Sandwich and Lord George Germaine, but they could not prevail with him to propose it to the King. Rigby had designed to go to Drummond's near Southampton, and had sent to Lord Weymouth and the Duke of Bridgewater to meet him there privately to concert farther measures; but he was forced to lay aside his journey, for neither of them would meet him there; and it was weak to expect or desire Lord Weymouth to come in at so dangerous a crisis, who had twice before thrown up the seals in a panic.

George Dalling had been twice recalled from the Governorship of Jamaica, but would not obey.

At the meeting for a remonstrance from Middlesex, Parson Horne made a treasonable speech against the King, who, he said, had betrayed this country.

Great clamour against Commodore Stuart, Lady Gower's brother, who lay in the Downs, and had let a Dutch fleet pass unmolested.

Lord Barrington, fearing his pension would be taken away by the Commission of Accounts, desired to give it up for the Postmaster's place, which he obtained. Lord Sandwich had solicited it strongly for Lord Dudley, and Lord North for his relation Lord Willoughby de Broke. He was out of humour, too, on not being able to obtain the vacant provostship of Eton for his son's tutor Dr. Dampier.

Lord Carlisle, in Ireland, had carried everything in Parliament by great majorities, and had Mr. Flood turned out for opposing. But they had still reason to apprehend

danger from the Irish volunteers. Those of Ulster sent letters to the rich Peers here who had estates in Ireland, demanding contributions in a tone not to be refused.

Great hopes, from prevalent strong west winds, that the French embarkation for the West Indies was dispersed or blown back.

The Czarina and King of Sweden offered us their mediation with Holland. The first was declined, the last refused, but the former was afterwards accepted. Mr. Lawrence was admitted to bail.

1782.

JANUARY.

THE Court began the year in great perplexity. The defeat of Lord Cornwallis and the capture of his army had rendered the American war hopeless; yet the King was not in the least more inclined to give it up. The French were evidently pushing for so great a superiority of naval force in the West Indies, that the utmost apprehensions were entertained for Jamaica and other islands. The Lord George Gordon's frantic and wicked proceedings had given a great blow to the country Associations, yet the latter had sown seeds that disturbed the Courtiers, if not the King—as the Commission of Accounts, which proceeded strictly and with spirit, and the disposition in many, particularly in London, Westminster, and Yorkshire, to alter the mode of representation. The Ministers, who had never cordially agreed and had held together only from common interest and common danger, were now as severally, from the increase of the danger, seeking to save themselves by sacrificing the rest. In general they hoped to remain by giving up Lord Sandwich and Lord George; but those two, as most dependent on himself by having no other support, the King was most disposed to preserve. Yet the point that had done most prejudice to the Court was the treacherous declaration of the Lord Advocate on the first day of the session that *there was division in the*

Council, and his subsequent, and then Rigby's pretended conscientious conviction, that they had been in the wrong in promoting (I believe they only confessed supporting) the American war. Confessions of weakness and division opened many eyes—that is, of those who looked to their own interest. Misfortunes and disgraces there had happened enough to undeceive the most blinded, and yet had had little effect; but if Ministers themselves recanted, the venal would naturally look out to what was to follow; and that this was the principal cause of what ensued may be fairly gathered from the little part the nation took in the subsequent events, and from the indifference with which it acquiesced in the contradictions that grew out of the crisis.

During the holidays the Lord Advocate wrote to Lord North that he could not serve any longer with Lord George Germaine. The Minister with pleasure, and as was his duty, acquainted the King, who was much offended with the Advocate, and would not speak to him at the next levée. Yet, lest a rupture should produce a wider breach, it was settled that Lord George should retire, and he himself declared he had resigned sooner than he did in form. To Lord North, who notified that necessity to him, he said with spirit and good sense, "You say I must go, my Lord!—very well—but pray, why is your Lordship to stay?"

20*th*. Lord Cornwallis and the noted renegade General Arnold arrived. The former offered to go to Court; but such personal severity had been used towards General Burgoyne in the same circumstances, that, favourite as Lord Cornwallis had been, at least till he was become useless, it was not held proper to be partial to him at so untoward a moment. But to Arnold, a character of far

blacker dye, no countenance was denied by the King or Ministers. The public, more equitable, despised him.

21*st*. The Parliament met after the recess.

I was ill and took no notes till February 4th.

FEBRUARY.

4th. COLONEL Hayes, an American officer, had been taken and executed without trial by Lord Rawdon, son of the Irish Earl of Moira, and nephew of Lord Huntingdon.[1] The Dukes of Grafton and Richmond had pleaded that they had no *authentic* account of it, and thought it hard to reflect on brave officers in their absence. The Duke of Richmond now made a motion for inquiry into that affair, though with great tenderness to Lord Rawdon, declaring he knew nothing of the truth, but thought it became the House to examine, in order to prevent savage war. Lord Abingdon went much farther, and broke out on the indecency of the King's reception of that double traitor General Arnold, which he censured in the most unguarded terms. The motion was rejected by 73 to 25.

A few months after, on the arrival of Lord Rawdon, he took up that affair with great heat, challenged the Duke of Richmond in injurious terms. The Duke declared he had neither meant nor said anything personal to Lord

[1] When Lord Rawdon arrived at Charlestown (after defeating Green near Hobkirk) he found Hayes already condemned to death, and vainly endeavoured to save him. Hayes had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the British government, and was then guilty of tempting an English corps to desert to the enemy.—D.

Rawdon, but the young man, as stiff in punctilio as a Spaniard (as General Conway told him), would hear of nothing but a formal recantation in the words he should dictate. To that the Duke would not submit. General Conway and Lord Ligonier were empowered to adjust the difference, and with much difficulty it was settled that the Duke should make a public declaration in the House of Lords of his having meant nothing personal to Lord Rawdon. In fact, I think the Duke prejudiced himself by this middle way. He should either have accepted the challenge or taken a much more courageous method—that of complaining to the House of Lords of the challenge, which, if refused, was a most outrageous infringement of the liberty of debate, and might in this case impede inquiries into such cruelties. As the Duke was extremely obnoxious to the Court by the warmth of his opposition and great abilities, I have no doubt but Lord Rawdon was secretly instigated to that brutality. The recent instances of Charles Fox and Lord Shelburne challenged by Scots, who were notoriously set on by other Scots, proved that indirect assassination was a favourite manœuvre of the instruments of the Court.

8*th*. The Duke of Chandos moved the Lords to inquire into Lord Cornwallis's surrender, which, after some debate, was allowed; but as Lord Cornwallis was not then arrived, it was not gone into then, nor resumed afterwards.

The same day Lord Caermarthen made a very extraordinary motion. It was to come to a resolution, that it was derogatory to the honour of the House that any person labouring under a heavy censure of a court-martial should be recommended to the Crown to be raised to the dignity of the peerage. This was directly levelled at Lord George Sackville Germaine, whom, on quitting the Seals, the King

had consented to create a Peer; indeed, if there could have been any doubt of the application, Lord Caermarthen cleared it away by reading the identical words of the sentence that had been passed on Lord George after the battle of Minden, twenty-two years before: the distance of the time sufficed to point out the ill-nature of the motion, which was generally condemned and justly rejected by the majority of the Lords, many of whom had, to that minute, served with him in Administration, and had never even remonstrated against his readmission.[2] The motion was in every light odious, and tended to destroy the best prerogative of the Crown, that of pardon.

The same day, in the other House, Mr. Fox, in a motion on the abuses of the navy, was not less personal to Lord Sandwich, whom, of late, he had pursued with much violence. I told him of it, and of his wasting his fire on a secondary character, whom all the rest were willing to sacrifice. I advised him to make his push at Lord North, as, if the keystone could be removed, the whole edifice would fall. He owned I was in the right, and he took my advice. The motion against the Admiralty was rejected by 288 to 183.

The King was so angry at Lord Caermarthen's motion, that he immediately ordered Lord George Germaine's patent to be notified in the next 'Gazette,' which it was on the 11th; and, as if his Lordship had deserved higher honour than usual, he was created a Viscount at once. It was intended that, as usual, he should be only a Baron, but he insisted on the higher step, as he said he would not take place after his aide-de-camp, his secretary, and hi advocate,

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[2] Lord Caermarthen had not been a Minister, but, having been Chamberlain to the Queen, had certainly served in Court with Lord George.

who all now were Barons; those were Lord Amherst, Lord Walsingham, and Lord Loughborough—the last, his counsel on his court-martial. Yet though thus supported by the favour of Royal perseverance, the new Lord Sackville had yet a most bitter draught to swallow before he was dismissed to tranquillity after so tempestuous a life; for,

18*th*, Lord Caermarthen, like a bloodhound, renewed his motion to the new Viscount's face, who was forced to hear his sentence read and to apologise for himself, and to plead his competence to receive the honour. He defended himself by sound arguments, hinted at the persecution he had undergone, and at the desire there had been to take away his life (which was true); alluding to the court-martial, he seemed to hint at injustice in it, and was too civil to Lord Caermarthen for so rude an attack. Lord Southampton defended the court-martial, at which he had been a witness against Lord George, but did not shine in that defence; nor got well off when the Duke of Richmond called on him, if he approved the sentence of the court-martial, to vote for the motion.

The Duke observed, too, how the Ministers skulked behind the question, and shunned defending it, which was also true. Lord Stormont, with his usual empty pomp and insolence, took the charge up, but showed that he was more sore on his own account than Lord Sackville's. Lord Walsingham defended his friend and late master much better; while Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Richmond preferred the uniformity of Lord Sackville to the shuffling conduct of Lord North. The Chancellor, in an able speech, put an end to the debate, and the motion was rejected by 81 to 27.

One remark I must make. It is surprising that neither

Lord Sackville nor any of his friends recollected a circumstance which they might have thrown in the teeth of the Whigs with great propriety on this occasion. We Whigs have always loudly condemned the cruelty and injustice of James I. in executing Sir Walter Raleigh after he had been employed in a Royal commission, which we deem equivalent to pardon. If a commission from the Crown was a pardon, surely the dignity of Privy Councillor and Secretary of State, as higher trusts, are stronger pardons.

Let me add, that in Lord Rockingham's administration, Lord Sackville had been made Vice-Treasurer of Ireland —with what grace could they recur to the sentence of the court-martial? But enough on Lord Sackville, of whom probably we shall hear no more. The passage was bitter, but he was fortunate to retreat so easily from a scene in which he had had a deep hand, with no kind of success or credit to his councils!

Lord Sackville could not forbear, even in so disgraceful a conjuncture, giving a new proof of his pride and want of judgment. I have mentioned that he had affected a great zeal for the Duke of Gloucester, though it had not appeared since the seeming reconciliation of the King and Duke; nor had Lord Sackville been so frequent in paying court to his Royal Highness. On the day of Lord Caermarthen's motion, the Duke, who had never given a vote but once (on the repeal of the Popish laws) since his disagreement with the King, retired as usual. Lord Sackville resented that his Royal Highness had not voted for him, and not only forbore going to Gloucester House, but forbade his daughters going thither—thus excluding himself from the most creditable and honourable of the few houses where he was received, the number of which was not likely to increase now he had lost all power.

On the retreat of Lord Sackville, Sir Guy Carleton was sent to take the command in America in the room of Sir Henry Clinton, who had long solicited to be recalled, and who had not made a better figure, or been more successful than his predecessors, and who Lord Cornwallis, and many others, thought had contributed to the disgrace of the latter by not supporting him properly; and the animosity had gone so far, that Sir Henry vowed he would at a proper time challenge Lord Cornwallis. But that quarrel, like many preceding events, was forgotten by the vast variety of new matter that ensued, and will for ever remain obscure like them,[3] as the nation had not time to enter into the discussion of such a multiplicity of problematic questions, anxiously concealed by the Ministers, and transacted at so great a distance, and requiring so many absent witnesses, and which, in a flagrant season of party, were affirmed and denied with equal heat, while the dissipation and real indifference of the nation, that took most of them up at first with warmth, forgot them with equal levity. Sir Henry Clinton was a very weak man; nor, in the whole conduct of the war, had one of the Commanders been a man of real abilities.

General Gage was not only totally insufficient, but his wife was American, and supposed to betray all his orders and councils to her countrymen. Sir William Howe had not a glimmering of parts, and even undertook the command against his principles, if he had any or knew what they were. He gave himself up to his pleasures and negligence; and yet, as he was of great personal bravery, and not without vanity, he returned expecting applause for

[3] Lord Cornwallis and Sir H. Clinton did some months afterwards publish four or five pamphlets against each other, which may be of use hereafter for a history of the war; but the public took no part in the contest, which, as well as the combatants, were soon forgotten.

having done nothing but lose his time; as if he thought that, because he had courage enough to have done anything, it was having done something. He bore part of the blame of not having supported Burgoyne, as Sir Henry Clinton that of neglecting to attempt to rescue Lord Cornwallis. General Burgoyne was the most verbose and bombast boaster that ever bore a truncheon. He did not want spirit nor knowledge, nor any zeal for serving his masters, who seem to have sacrificed him because he did not execute a bad or impossible plan drawn by them. Lord Cornwallis was dull and brave, and more in earnest in serving the cause than was consistent with his principles, which had utterly opposed and condemned it. He had not genius to retrieve the King's affairs, if they were retrievable; and though his first successes had disposed the Court to intend him for their hero, they let him sink into obscurity on his return after his total defeat,[4] and he was too silent and modest not to acquiesce in their neglect. Sir Guy Carleton was a grave man, and good officer, and reckoned sensible—he was too reserved to betray himself if he was not what he was reckoned. He had served well, had been affronted by Lord George Germaine, under whom he would not serve, and had recently been one of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, which having

[4] What probably contributed to the neglect of Lord Cornwallis, was a letter of his that was published, and had been written in America, in which he *forbad enlisting Scotchmen*. On the 6th of the ensuing March of 1782, there was an attempt made by the Opposition to inquire into the causes of Lord Cornwallis's defeat and capture, with a view to ascribe them to a want of a fleet to cooperate with him. In that debate Lord Sandwich defended himself and the Ministers against the charge of want of a naval force; the Earl of Derby flew into such an intemperate passion that he termed Lord Sandwich's defence impudence and assurance; words so indecent that he was immediately interrupted. The Ministers defeated the motion by pleading the absence of Lord Cornwallis, yet prejudged it by voting that there had not been want of a naval force: thus, while they affected tenderness for Lord Cornwallis, they took away his best defence.

introduced him to the theory of reformation and economy, he set himself, on his arrival at New York, to correct the enormous abuses that had grown up under Lord North's negligence, and by the plunder of all whom he had employed, or had not opposed when recommended by the Junto and the Scots.

Welbore Ellis was appointed Secretary of State in the room of Lord George Germaine, and it was intended that the Lord Advocate, Dundas, should succeed Ellis as Treasurer of the Navy.

Lord Caermarthen, the Dukes of Rutland and Devonshire, the Earls of Pembroke, Derby, Abingdon, Egremont, and Chatham, and Lord Craven, protested against Lord Sackville's peerage.

19*th*. In a debate on the Mutiny Bill, Burke, Fox, and General Conway reflected severely on the traitor Arnold; and Conway made a capital speech against the pitiful solicitude with which the Courtiers, both in the House and in the public papers, recommended unanimity,[5] which Conway said was only meant to beg that all men would support the present nefarious and incapable Administration.

20*th*. Charles Fox moved an inquiry into Lord Sandwich's mismanagement of the Navy during 1781. He had intended, and threatened, an inquiry into his whole administration, which would have furnished much more matter of censure, at least, of discussion. I forget why it was thought more proper to narrow the question to one year. The motion was rejected by a majority of 19—a small one, but prognosticating the downfall of the Ministry. The Prince of Wales openly avowed his dislike of Lord

[5] This was not made on the 19th, but the next day.

Sandwich, nor even spoke to him at Court. His brother, Prince Frederick, before he went to Germany, had expressed himself still more injuriously against Lord Sackville.

The hostilities of the Prince of Wales were supposed to be suggested by his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, who had now got entire influence over him. The Prince, though at first he did not go openly to her, frequently supped with the Duchess of Cumberland, and in a little time they openly kept a faro bank for him—not to their credit; and the Duke of Cumberland even carried bankers and very bad company to the Prince's apartments in the Queen's house. This behaviour was very grating to the King, and the offences increased. The Duke of Cumberland twice a day passed by the King's apartment to his nephew's, without making his bow to his Majesty; and the brothers at last ceased to speak. On hunting days the Duke was not asked to dine with the King. He returned this by instilling neglect into his nephew. One day that the King and his family were thrown out in the chace in a little village, the Prince and Duke took the only chaise that was to be hired, and left the King to get home as he could. When the Prince dined with his Majesty, the son constantly made the father wait a full hour. The King complained of this treatment to the Duke of Gloucester, who asked why he bore it. "What can I do?" said the King; "if I resent it they will make my son leave me, and break out, which is what they wish." But it was not long before the folly and vulgarity of the Duke of Cumberland disgusted the Prince. His style was so low that, alluding to the Principality of Wales, the Duke called his nephew *Taffy*. The Prince was offended at such indecent familiarity, and begged it might not be repeated—but in

vain. Soon after, Mr. Legge, one of the Prince's gentlemen and second son of the Earl of Dartmouth, growing a favourite, inflamed the Prince's disgusts; and the coolness increasing, the Duke of Cumberland endeavoured to counteract the prejudice, by calling Legge to the Prince "Your *Governor*"—but as the Governor had sense, and the Uncle none, Legge's arrows took place, the others did not. Yet though the Prince had too much pride to be treated vulgarly, he had not enough to disuse the same style. Nothing was coarser than his conversation and phrases; and it made men smile to find that in the palace of piety and pride his Royal Highness had learnt nothing but the dialect of footmen and grooms. Still, if he tormented his father, the latter had the comfort of finding that, with so depraved and licentious a life, his son was not likely to acquire popularity. Nor did he give symptoms of parts, or spirit, or steadiness. A tender parent would have been afflicted—a jealous and hypocritic father might be vexed, but was consoled too.

The Duke of Gloucester's conduct toward his nephew was very different, and both to father and son very meritorious. What little he said to the latter was in giving him good advice; not finding that acceptable, he saw the Prince but rarely. At first he had professed to the Duke much good-will towards the Duchess, but whether prejudiced against her by the Duchess of Cumberland, or offended by the Duchess of Gloucester's resenting that he took no notice of her, while he passed so much of his time with the other, he dropped all mention to the Duke of the Duchess of Gloucester—but growing weary of the Cumberlands, he on a sudden told his elder uncle that on the ensuing Sunday he would come to him and the Duchess in form.

The Duke begged him to acquaint the King previously

with his intention, and he himself would await his Majesty's answer. "No," said the Prince, "I dare not; but I will come to you: you will receive me, wont you?" "Certainly," said the Duke, with utmost form and respect; "but I will go the next morning and acquaint the King." "Sure you wont?" said the Prince, but desisted. The Duke was above receiving a visit by stealth or connivance.

At this time, and indeed I believe generally, secret negotiations were going on with France, probably with little intention on their side of concluding them. Now was that Court so elated by the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army, and the total desperation of the Royal cause in America, that France was so insolent as to demand cession of the Isle of Wight! I do not know that our Court had made them presume such a cession possible! it certainly was not artful, if they meant to keep the negotiation open.

22*nd*. General Conway, void of factious principles and connected with neither the Rockingham nor Shelburne squadrons, became nevertheless the principal instrument of their success. He was indefatigable in whatever he thought his duty: he had invariably lamented the American war; and now learning from the defeat of Lord Cornwallis, from the despondency of the Court, and from their divisions, that the independence of the Colonies, to which he had long been utterly averse, was established, and ought to be allowed by the mother country, he had set himself to devise all or any means of pacification. The candour and fairness of his character had drawn much respect to him from all thinking and honest men. Their confidence in him had brought to his knowledge that Lawrence, formerly President of the Congress, and of late prisoner here, had as well as another person in Holland, authority from the Congress

to conclude peace with us. On this foundation, and with his usual zeal, he had drawn up a motion for that purpose; and so great was his command over himself that he had made himself master of the business, and formed his motion, at the very instant that his mind and pains were labouring and tortured to pacify the quarrel between his son-in-law, the Duke of Richmond, and the hot-headed Lord Rawdon. Accordingly, on this day, February 22nd, he moved the House of Commons to address the King to give directions to his Ministers to use every means in their power to restore peace, and to give up all thoughts of subduing America with force. He urged the peculiar propriety of the moment now that there was a newly appointed American Secretary in the room of Lord George Germaine, and therefore he wished to learn whether the new Minister brought different sentiments, or was merely a phœnix sprung from the ashes of the departed Minister. He had another inducement, which was to second the Sovereign himself, who had lately declared to Parliament that the wish of his heart was to bring about a safe and honourable peace. He professed having two other concurrent motives—the one, that he knew America wished for peace; and the other, that he also knew that there were persons at no great distance empowered to treat—he therefore wished to hear whether our Ministers were taking advantage of that disposition and those circumstances. He warned them of not losing such advantages, which, like the leaves of the Sibyl, would rise in price in proportion as they delayed the purchase. He mentioned our army in America, which standing on paper is 73,000 men, and cost an hundred pounds per man, though the whole efficient force, both under Lord Cornwallis (which part was now gone) and Sir Henry Clinton, had amounted last year but to 13,800 men.

The effect of this speech was incredible, considering how steeled had been the majority of hearts in that House —but not wonderful, as that very hardness of their hearts had been occasioned by what softened them now, their interest. It is easy to persuade men to repent when it is for their present advantage; and, without detaching from the power of Conway's truth, arguments, and eloquence, he had frequently spoken as well, and disclosed as many truths without shaking a voter; but the fall of Lord George Germaine had made the fabric totter, and the rats ran away.

Poor Ellis was very unequal to the part he had to act. He did not dare at such a moment to declare his masters' or his own disposition, if ordered, to continue the war; nor, while there was such a disposition, as little dared he to venture to embrace, at least pronounce for, pacific sentiments. There was a third path to steer, to which he was excellently suited, and which he had often practised with much less occasion, and that was to say little or nothing to the purpose. With much pomp, therefore, he uttered a parcel of formal hackneyed phrases, which, to give him his due, he thought meant something, and after declaring that he had found nothing in his office that apprised him of there being any such negotiators as had been mentioned, all the rest he said was a little for contracting the war, and a little for carrying it on; and when he had rung the changes on those contradictions, and flattered himself that he had not been too explicit, though he had said enough to show he only wanted to conceal what he thereby discovered, his inclination for continuing the war, he sat down perfectly satisfied with himself, as everyone else was that he was sitten down. Burke did not let Ellis's real sentiments pass without a comment, but showed that the

person only was changed, not the system. Jenkinson was less oracular, and Charles Fox accordingly applied a much harsher comment on him, as one who might be deemed to be mouth of the oracle, of which Ellis was only the statue—but as if Fox had embraced *all* the notions that have been held about oracles (to which indeed he did even allude), he mentioned *the infernal spirit* that really ruled and had so nearly ruined this country. He then turned to another of the band, and said that should the Lord Advocate not vote for the motion, what he had said before the holidays would bear the construction of having arisen from *personal animosity*, otherwise how was his speaking against one Minister, and supporting another for pursuing the same measures, to be accounted for! Fox might ask the question, but Dundas wanted no long commentator. In six months he fully explained his own comment, and that he had not acted from *personal animosity*, but from *personal interest*.

At two the House divided and rejected Conway's motion, but by a majority of one voice only! the number being 194 to 193—ample intelligence to all to see which way the scale would incline. Mr. Fox, too alert not to profit by a doubtful field, immediately gave due notice that the same question in another shape would be renewed in a few days; and the more necessary as Lord North had given notice that he should open the Budget on an early day. Colonel Barré reproached Lord North bitterly for that notice, when he ought to have brought on other business which he had utterly neglected, especially the reports of the Commissioners, whom he had kept employed for two years, and yet had let their papers lie on the table like lumber. He called him the scourge of this country, with many harsh additions and accusations. Lord North, who

was a laughing philosopher only when backed by numbers, finding himself so hard run by the division, wanted nothing but this new provocation to overset his temper. He fell into a furious rage, and said he had been used from that quarter to language so uncivil, so brutal, and so insolent. At the sound of those words there was an immediate uproar in the House; the Speaker and the almost triumphant Opposition called him to order, and T. Townshend, in no less severe terms, complained of such language from a Minister as totally annihilating all freedom of debate. Lord North said he was ready to own he had gone too far, but desired the House to recollect the provocation, and that he would ask pardon of the House, but not of Barré. After a tumult of three hours, Lord North was forced to make an apology even to Barré: heavy mortifications in one day. Yet when it shall be seen that those corrections and the loss of his power were all the punishments inflicted on so criminal a Minister, and that even those were wiped out by a large pension, his fate will not be deemed very severe by posterity, who will feel the losses he contributed so largely to bring on this country—a proof is that he began to joke again in a very short time after his fall—for, whatever moved him, shame did not.

The Lord Advocate Dundas, whose unsatisfied ambition had brought the Administration to the brink of the precipice, thought the emergency favourable for extorting the most exorbitant demands, concluding that they would pay any price for support to their tottering power. He demanded the treasure ships of the Navy, and to have the Treasury of the Chambers for life, a place of 2900*l.* a year, as Sir Gilbert Elliot had had, pleading that he must give up his lucrative profession, though, as it soon

appeared, he did not mean to relinquish the post of Lord Advocate. Such rapacity in not many months occasioned a full display of his venality and total want of principles.

25*th*. The Budget opened. Lord North had contracted with four persons (of whom one was the notorious Atkinson, stigmatised by the contract for rum); the bankers complained of being neglected.

On February 27*th* the decisive blow was given to an Administration which had given the most fatal stab to the glory and interests of England, by (I believe) planning (certainly by taking no step to prevent), pushing on, and persisting in the American war, and who had, by the countenance of the Crown, and by the arts of the Scotch, and the intoxication of the nation, maintained themselves under the greatest disgraces and losses that ever this country had sustained—disgraces in a great measure the consequences of impolicy, early neglect, and rash perseverance in a hopeless project; and though they struggled for a fortnight longer, not without a slight gleam of hope, they could not recover their defeat. General Conway, who had been the principal instrument of the repeal of the Stamp Act, a service that would have preserved tranquillity in America, had not the same pernicious arts that had embroiled it, rekindled the flames, had the honour of commanding this day, and of making the motion that gave victory to the Opposition by its consequences, liberty to America, peace to England. He moved to declare the purpose of subduing the revolted Colonies by force impracticable—as both sides were sensible it was, though above 200 Members could not be induced to make the confession. Yet between one and two in the morning the question was carried by 234 votes to 215. The debate may be found at large in various publications of the time. The

debates in general have been so accurately taken and published of late years, that I willingly omit them in this journal, because far too voluminous, and which I have continued so long merely to preserve certain passages less known, and to aid future historians, *not intending the journalist part for any other use*, which from my retirement from the public scene, from my total disconnection with Ministers, from satiety of politics, and from disgust with so fatal a war, and so impotent and shameful an Administration, I have furnished very imperfectly; and though I have, again, been master of many lights by the accession of some few of my friends to power, yet age and indolence have unfitted me for taking pains to inform myself; and the slight notes I have preserved and do set down of the changes that happened in 1782 and 1783, will be chiefly such as I can warrant the truth of, and are not likely to be found in narratives of men much less conversant with some of the principal actors.

The very next day, whether panic or the paltry act of hoping to prejudice the public against the victorious Opposition dictated the measure, Lord Stormont was ordered to write to the Lord Mayor that tumults were apprehended, and he was directed to take precautions against them.

But if panic had seized the Ministers, anger and obstinacy alone seemed to possess their Master.

Being addressed by the House of Commons on

MARCH,

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4*th*, In consequence of their late resolution of suspending the American war, his Majesty sternly and ungraciously told them, that he should, in pursuance of their advice, take such measures as should appear to him (to *me* said he emphatically) to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted Colonies. Authority so ill-timed and impolitically assumed in the moment of defeat, spoke very intelligibly what sort a spirit would have displayed itself, had the Colonies, as his flatterers had promised him, been reduced to unconditional submission, and what measure would have been dealt out to the Opposition had the Royal army returned triumphant! Prerogative that spoke in so high a tone to a House of Commons that had bound its hands, would soon have issued *lettres de cachet de part le roi*. In the moment in question, for a King of parliamentary election who had lost so vast a portion of an empire that his family had been called to preside over, to conceit all negotiation in his own wisdom, was bloated folly, but shows how naturally that factitious puppet believes its own rights, divine, and inalienable and uncommunicable!

A slight incident contributed to increase the scandal given. General Arnold, the American renegade, stood close by the throne as a champion of offended Majesty, but soon sunk into obscurity with the Royal cause to which he had revolted, and was no more heard of.

That vexation, not firmness, had dictated the King's

response was evident, for the same day he sent for the Chancellor and told him Lord North must give up his post. As there was no cordiality between the Prime Minister and the Chancellor, the latter was not secret on the communication made to him; and, by divulging, perhaps expedited Lord North's fall. Thurlow did not foresee that in less than a year and a half himself would be the disgraced Minister, and have his dismission notified to him by Lord North! The latter asked whether, if he was to retire, he must yet propose the taxes? Yes! he was told *he* had borrowed the money.

Charles Fox proposed to the House of Commons to complain of the King's answer; but General Conway, who had moved an Address of thanks for that answer, William Pitt, and Sir Gilbert, and others, overruled Fox and declared against violence. Rigby attacked the new majority warmly, but was corrected by young William Pitt, who told him the nation was weary of paying him. The Address was voted.

The Commons went farther and declared such *enemies* who should advise or attempt a further prosecution of the American war.

At this time came an account of the surrender of Minorca to the French, and likewise of their capture of St. Christopher's.

6*th*. Lord North not being ready with his taxes, but obliged to postpone them, was severely handled by Charles Fox and Burke.

8*th*. Lord John Cavendish proposed four resolutions to the House of Commons—the first, that the war had cost an hundred millions; the second, to state our losses; the third, that, besides with America, we were at war with France, Spain, and Holland; and the fourth, which, as

the three preceding were self-evident propositions, nobody who confessed them could deny—namely, that all were owing to the want of foresight, and want of ability in the King's Ministers, whom he should move to have changed. There seemed to be a little precipitation in those motions, though it is rarely wise not to pursue a victory; yet, as Lord North was in three days to open his taxes, it was most probable that they would excite more enemies to him, and therefore, as he had often recovered from many slippery situations, it might have been to secure all advantages against him. This reasoning appeared to be just, for Lord John's motions were rejected by a majority of ten. Lord Maitland reproached Ministers with having often defied and called for charges, and now endeavouring to avoid them by the most pitiful shifts. Sir Fletcher Norton, who had long borne enmity to Rigby for a former offence, dragged him into the debate, and complained of the vast sum of money in the Paymaster's hands, and said, if interest was made of that money, it ought to belong to the public, and declared that if the Crown lawyers did not take up the matter, he would. Rigby defended himself, and at the same time not only retorted severely on Sir Fletcher, whose character furnished ample matter, but a little indiscreetly on Fox, with the highest encomiums on his friend the Lord Advocate, whose speech of that day he pronounced the finest he had ever heard; a proof of which, he said, was, that it was the speech that had the most galled the Opposition. Sheridan replied wittily, that if those speeches were the best which gave most offence, Rigby himself was the Demosthenes of the House—it was very true; nobody was so apt to provoke by indiscreet insolence. But the most memorable incident of the day was a far greater indiscretion of one who soon afterwards

became a capital personage: this was young William Pitt, second son of the renowned Lord Chatham, who had already much distinguished himself by his premature eloquence. The debate had turned much on a new arrangement of Ministers. Pitt said he knew not who they would be, but he felt himself obliged to declare (even that was not very modest) that he himself could not expect to take any share in a new Administration; and were his doing so more within his reach, he never would accept a *subordinate* situation. So arrogant a declaration from a boy who had gained no experience from, nor ever enjoyed even the lowest post in any office, and who for half a dozen orations, extraordinary indeed, but no evidence of capacity for business, presumed himself fit for command, proved that he was a boy, and a very ambitious and a very vain one. The moment he sat down he was aware of his folly, and said he could bite his tongue out for what it had uttered; but though he lamented his imprudence, it was of his frankness he repented. In very few months he showed that he had neither corrected his vanity or ambition.

Lord North's recovery of majority was collaterally propped on the same day by a *report* that Admiral Hood had attacked and defeated the French fleet off St. Christopher's, and obliged the 6000 men they had landed on the island to surrender. But whether the Administration was really too much shaken, or whether Lord North's firmness deserted him; whether he apprehended that to struggle would but render his fall more severe; whether the resolution taken by the Commons of abandoning the American war, made him feel the disagreeableness of his situation in being obliged to negotiate peace, which he probably knew the Americans would not trust him to make; or whether the temper of the times, which, being

turned to reformation, cut off all his hopes of the Auditor's place being suffered to exist beyond the life of the present incumbent, it is certain that, having, on the

11*th*, proposed his taxes, which were deemed inefficient, and some of which were so unpalatable that they were soon afterwards repealed, he intended it for the last act of his administration, and had the day before, the

10*th*, declared to the King that he was determined to resign his post. The Lord Advocate, who had opened the breach, which he had intended should soon be closed by his own stopping all the gap he had projected, in the dismission of Lord George Germaine, perceiving now that much more of the fabric would tumble than he had moved, had, since the defeat of the 27th, talked much of a *coalition of parties*, and even proposed to search for some unexceptionable man under whom all parties might unite. But he was disregarded as he deserved; nor was long in finding his account in the mischief he had made. He did find it, just long enough to give him occasion to display farther his profligate versatility.

It was another hand to whom the King entrusted the office of making a new arrangement: to a man of abilities equal to Dundas, to a man no better a politician, not so rapacious of gain, though, as it afterwards[1] appeared, not so disinterested as he pretended, and whose surly moroseness and disgusting manner were not adapted to conciliation, and to the suppleness and art requisite to negotiation. It was the Chancellor Thurlow whom the King commissioned to sound Lord Rockingham with overtures of appointing him First Minister. Before I mention that treaty I will premise that I imagine the

[1] In July, 1783.

Chancellor, from that and other occasional confidences, entertained some views occasionally of becoming First Minister himself. It is sure, at least, that he acted cordially with no other Premier; but his indolence, his want of policy, and brutality of temper, might occasion his inharmonious behaviour, as the last[2] had evidently more part in his fall in the succeeding year than intrigue and ambition.

When the Chancellor opened his business to Lord Rockingham, the latter asked if he came by authority. "No," said Thurlow; "but your Lordship may trust to me." The Marquis replied he could not listen to him unless he came by authority. The Chancellor said he would come with it the next day.

In the mean time an incident happened that was pregnant with deep mischief, and which, in the course of it, brought to light the secret influence of Jenkinson, which had long been suspected by a few, and which his own indiscreet vanity made very evident the next year. A Mutiny Bill for the Navy had arrived at the last stage unnoticed, though Jenkinson had slipped into it the word Ireland, to extend it to that country too. Had the bill passed, Ireland would have been in a flame. The Court had had secret intelligence that the volunteers were already negotiating with France. To America they were so propense that they had made illuminations on the success of General Conway's motion to address the King for peace. Lord Beauchamp, observing the insertion of Ireland, represented the danger to his father and uncle, both of whom remonstrated to Lord Hillsborough. The latter said he was sorry, but all the Cabinet had agreed to the insertion.

[2] It provoked Mr. Fox to insist on his dismission in 1783, as a subsequent attack on Fox was the cause of the latter defeating Lord Thurlow's attempt to get a Teller's place on the old footing.

Lord Beauchamp applied to Jenkinson, who flew into a passion, and said, *all was lost if everything was yielded.* This showed not only what a prerogative spirit predominated in the Court, but how absurdly. Was that a moment for hazarding dangerous innovations, when the Crown could so ill maintain what it yet possessed? *Few Kings and their tools have discovered that it belongs only to a superior genius to stretch power to despotism—nor will discover it till they discover too that themselves have no genius.* Charles I., James II., and George III. will be for ever memorable for blundering away their power in the pursuit of enlarging it. The two first met with the common fate of such attempts conducted without skill. The case of the latter is more singular, and though less fatal to his person and interest, far more detrimental to his kingdom. He has lost more dominions than ever monarch lost who did not lose his crown. But when Charles lost his head and James his kingdom, the nation lost nothing but two tyrants; the extent of our dominions remained the same, and the constitution was much amended in both instances, as it ought to be when kings are not content with so many advantages above the rest of mankind, till they contend for more than their subjects have already allowed. The composition which the Germanic body makes with every new Emperor ought to be observed on all accessions of Princes. As almost all Kings innovate, or flattery offers or winks at their encroachments, till, too bold or palpable, a concordate ought to be made with every new sovereign, by which he should relinquish some branches of prerogative. But as new Princes are commonly welcome from what the people have suffered under their predecessors, that is not the moment that will often be seized; it is the more requisite, therefore, that

when they have encroached and miscarried, the injured country should take measures against future attempts by curtailing their power.

Lord Hertford, Lord Beauchamp, and General Conway having so ill success with the fabricator of the mischievous plan, addressed themselves to Lord North, and prevailing on him, who, though rarely the inventor of noxious measures generally, consented to be the instrument, the word Ireland was omitted in the bill.

13*th*. It was publicly given out that Lord North had resigned, or intended it; yet the next day he determined to encounter a repetition of Lord John Cavendish's last motions, which he knew were to be made on the 15th. Such a resolution seemed most injudicious, as it was reasonable to expect that a falling Minister would find his supporters crumble away the more occasion he should have for them.

On the 15*th*, accordingly, the same attack was renewed, and by a hand that gave it more weight, being that of Sir John Routh (?), till this time much devoted to Lord North, and a Tory by principle as he avowed himself, and who said he had loved the amiableness of Lord North's private character. He then renewed Lord John's four questions, prefacing them by a declaration that the facts contained in those motions were the reasons why he could no longer place any confidence in the King's Ministers. Yet not this defection of a creditable friend, nor the probability of a change, nor the solicitation of the Prince of Wales, who made interest against Lord North, though he influenced but one vote, and a very despicable one—that is, Lord Melbourne's, the son of Sir Matthew Lamb, a low lawyer who had raised an immense fortune out of various great estates to which he had been steward (of the Irish peer, his son,

history will probably know more—at least, of his wife[3]), were as yet efficacious to overturn the Minister. The motions after a long debate were rejected, and Lord North had a majority of nine for him. Whether the majority had any compunction of shame, and would not vote for questions which they had voted against but seven days before, condemning the lavish expenditure of money and blood, for which expenditure they had voted for seven years together; or whether the extreme repugnance of his Majesty to submit to the Opposition had made his creatures exert themselves to prevent the humiliation, I know not—I should rather think the latter; certain it is that nothing could exceed the aversion of the King—not for parting with his Minister, but for accepting one by force. All his arts, little ones indeed, were employed to avoid that humiliation; and though he succeeded in the only artifice in which he had ever succeeded, sowing division, yet he not only avoided no mortification, but laid a foundation for receiving much greater, as he felt in a twelvemonth after.

18*th*. The Chancellor went again to Lord Rockingham, on how silly a message appeared by its no effect, though a man of so great talents was the messenger, and a man of so slender parts the receiver. The Chancellor's mission was to persuade the Marquis to accept the administration, and to settle the terms afterwards. The Marquis gave a direct negative.

In one of those conversations Lord Rockingham mentioned the measures he should expect to have adopted, if

[3] The wife of Peniston Lamb, first Viscount Melbourne, was Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke. She died in 1811; her husband (the father of the future Prime Minister, then two years old) survived her seventeen years.—D.

he came into place—as peace with America, general peace, disqualifying of contractors from sitting in Parliament, and revenue officers from voting at elections, and plans of economy: but the Chancellor avoided the discussion, saying it would be more proper after the new Administration should be settled than before; and that for his part the object of his mission was to enable the King to quiet internal commotions—though at that time none subsisted but the general distaste to the war.

Had the Marquis been so very weak as to yield, perhaps his Majesty might have comforted himself with duping, exposing, and ruining him with his party, and in the eyes of the public, and not continued to meditate a project that spoke nothing but unconquerable obstinacy and childish desperation. He not only talked of retiring to Hanover, but it is most certain that for a fortnight together the Royal yacht was expeditiously preparing for transporting him—what farther steps he meant to take I do not pretend to know, nor whether he had digested any plan; whether his secession was to be permanent or temporary, whether he meant to leave the Queen Regent, or to carry her and his younger children with him—such moody peevishness probably had not looked for nor fixed on any system, when it was not possible that any one should satisfy him. The thought, however, was not novel; I have heard from the best authority that in the heat of Wilkes's war on him, he had meditated a parallel retreat.

Another art, founded in a little wisdom, was employed at this time. This was to patch up a peace with America, without the intervention of the future Ministers. One Digges was despatched to the Hague to negotiate with the American agent there. That the Americans would treat with the Ministers who had made the war, and conducted

it with so much bitterness and negotiated with them with such notorious insincerity, was of all events the most improbable. If so foolish a measure could be degraded, it would have been by the character of the envoy. Digges was so infamous a fellow, that Dr. Franklin said of him, *that if Digges was not damned the devil would be useless.* Of Digges and his embassy no more was heard.

I almost blush to particularize follies that would scarce be credited; but the public confusion that grew out of such measures, the collateral events that are of public notoriety, and the discussions that followed in debates and in print will corroborate my assertions.

20*th.* Though no steps had been taken that promised a new settlement, Lord North declared the Administration was dissolved. He wrote a letter, that was commended, to the King to take his leave. When he went to take it formally, the King parted with him rudely without thanking him, adding, "Remember, my Lord, that it is you who desert me, not I you."

The King, though thus reduced to the necessity of taking new Ministers, was not at all disposed to add grace to it, nor to smooth his condition by persuading them, whoever they should be, that they were not utterly unwelcome to him. On the contrary, though it was evident that Lord Rockingham was the sole person who, by his extensive connections and the fairness of his character, could form an Administration of any consistency, that very reason made the King seem determined not to let the choice fall on him. He would not see the Marquis, but on the 21st sent for Lord Shelburne and offered to place him at the head of the Treasury, and, on Shelburne's not venturing to accept, he made the same offer to Lord Gower, with the same success.

Lord Shelburne, ambitious and impatient as he was to attain that eminence, stood on too narrow a bottom to venture to close with his wishes. Followers of property he had none, or those so inconsiderable that they could give him no weight. The Duke of Grafton was the only peer of consequence with whom he was connected—yet a man who had been Prime Minister was not likely to prove a zealous second; nor was Grafton's temper pliable or to be relied on. Lord Camden's great eloquence, character, and integrity made him by far the most considerable of Lord Shelburne's friends. Mr. Dunning was a most able lawyer, and Colonel Barré as able a tool. But all these could not form an Administration, nor be called a party.

I should have added that Shelburne had made most considerable enemies, which Lord Rockingham had not. He had never omitted an occasion of insulting Lord Mansfield, who by marriage had always kept on the fairest terms with Lord Rockingham; and to Lord North, Shelburne's contempt had been so marked that it exasperated him more than the invectives of Charles Fox.

Lord Gower, not without a wish of being Premier, was too indolent and too timid to accept the post; and though he was in a manner, from the nonage of the Duke of Bedford, the head of that large connection, it had been so much weakened and split since the death of the late Duke, that Lord Gower was far from sure of commanding it.

When Lord North was removed, who alone could, from the pleasantry of his humour, the attachment of the Tories, and the fairness of his private character have kept the Administration so long together, Lord Rockingham was the next who could bring the largest accession of landed property, nobility, and popularity of character to the support of Government. Indeed, in point of character there

were very few politicians in England who possessed any character of integrity and disinterestedness at all but the chiefs of that connection, as the Cavendishes, Sir George Saville, Frederick Montagu, and others. The Duke of Richmond, though so eminently virtuous, was in truth not popular; and General Conway, immaculate as the whitest of them, would never enlist in any faction, nor allow any to call him theirs.

This summary is so true that Lord Shelburne himself was aware of it, and reporting the King's offer to him to Lord Rockingham, said, "My Lord, you can stand without me; but I could not without you." This was perhaps the justest reflection Shelburne made in his life—and had he not forgotten it with too childish alacrity from his propensity to duplicity, he might have mollified the indisposition of Lord Rockingham's friends towards him, and by one moment of steadiness and sincerity ransomed his notorious perfidy, and succeeded to Lord Rockingham's power, had he not undermined it prematurely and wantonly—I mean succeeded with stability. By forgetting his own reversion he converted his allies into bitter enemies.

The King, defeated as he was, could not bear to submit, nor did the rest of his creatures yield with the facility of Lord North. It was given out, to encourage steadiness in others, that the Duke of Montagu had offered to resign his place of Master of the Horse,[4] if it would accommodate his Majesty in acquiring a friend. It was thought that the King saw Lord Bute on that occasion: for others he certainly sent; and Wedderburn as certainly had very private interviews with the Chancellor, though great

[4] Jenkinson also gave out, that if he was any obstacle, he was willing to retire.

hostilities had passed between the latter and Wedderburn —when *they* could meet, it was evident how very distasteful it would be to the Court to admit a Whig Administration.

When the King could form no corps strong enough to exclude the Opposition, he had recourse to his old nostrum of division. He again sent for Lord Shelburne, and gained him. Shelburne sent word to Lord Rockingham that he had been with the King, but would not disclose what had passed, as it would only exasperate Lord Rockingham more—as if that reticence softened it.

Shelburne, in the mean time, made a most bitter invective in the House of Lords against the Lords North and Stormont—an absurd impolicy to exasperate more a part of the Court into which he was going to fling himself, and at the very moment that he was also on the point of betraying and provoking the greater part of his own allies. Is it credible that a man, who had studied nothing but artifice all his life, should have learnt his lesson so very ill?

In short, not to dwell on days and hours, the King consented to take Lord Rockingham, and his Lordship's arrangement; but—is that credible?—would not see him. All was transacted by the medium of Lord Shelburne. He carried the messages backwards and forwards. Lord Rockingham was indignant, but his friends persuaded him to bear it, and when all the changes were settled, 27*th*, Lord Rockingham was admitted to an audience of the King, and accepted the Administration.

The new Cabinet consisted of the Marquis, as First Lord of the Treasury; Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer (most reluctantly, as he professed); Lord Shelburne and Charles Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Camden, President of the Council; the Duke of Grafton,

Privy Seal; General Conway, Commander-in-Chief; Admiral Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond, Master of the Ordnance; and Dunning, who was made a Peer, Chancellor of the Duchy.

The Duke of Richmond refused to accept, unless the King would say he had no objection to him, to which the King had assented, though the Duke and Charles Fox were the two he had most wished to exclude. As the Duke's friend, I earnestly wished him to support and act vigorously with the new Administration, but to take nothing. It would have placed him in a high light, and silenced much clamour. Nor do I think that I could have condescended to accept a post under a Prince whom I had taxed with breaking his word with me. I am persuaded he did not accept the Ordnance for the sake of the emoluments, but from his activity and love of business, and from thinking he could correct gross abuses in the office, which he soon did with indefatigable industry. I was as little pleased with his taking the Garter. It is so easy for a Duke of Richmond to have it, that I thought he would be more distinguished by neglecting it.

With this entirely new Cabinet was joined the old Chancellor, Thurlow, whose abilities the new Ministers thought too considerable to drive into Opposition.

The new Treasury was composed of the Marquis, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Althorp, Frederick Montagu, and James Grenville, junior. The Board of Admiralty was entirely new; Edmund Burke was made Paymaster, his brother Secretary of the Treasury, his son deputy to himself, and his cousin, William, sent to India in a most lucrative post.

But if Lord Shelburne had waived the first post, he proved that he at least shared the power. Besides obtaining two

great posts for Lord Camden and the Duke of Grafton, he got baronies for Dunning and Sir Fletcher Norton, who were created Barons of Ashburton and Grantley, with the Duchy of Lancaster, and a pension of 4000*l.* a year for life for the first. Colonel Barré was made Treasurer of the Navy, a post destined to the Lord Advocate Dundas; nor was that all he did for Colonel Barré, as will soon appear. Nor was his share of the Cabinet inconsiderable by his own vote, and those of Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Ashburton; not to mention that having more of the King's favour than Lord Rockingham, the Chancellor it was likely would incline the same way.

Nor was power Shelburne's sole aim. Ostensible feathers must crown his vanity. Three Garters had long been vacant, and the King had solemnly promised them to Lord Dartmouth under his hand; to Lord Ashburnham, if not in the same manner, as positively; and, it was said, to Lord Sandwich—but as his Majesty loved better to keep several men in hopes than oblige even those he preferred, he had kept back those ribands — and even when he saw his power totter, had not seized the opportunity of disposing of them, but kept them to be torn from him by those he most disliked. One, Shelburne obtained, and one the Duke of Richmond; the third was to be given to the Duke of Devonshire, who, soon after he came of age, being told by his flatterers that he might certainly have the Garter if he would ask for it, replied sensibly, "I would no more ask the King for a blue riband, without having done something to deserve it, than I would ask him for a blue great coat." I do not see that its being asked for him was any meritorious act in him. As the Duke was supposed indifferent, the third Garter was then reserved for the Duke of Portland; but Devonshire, who affected a stoic insensi-

bility to everything, showed his philosophy did not now reach even to the contempt of a piece of riband. He, therefore, was preferred. Lord Dartmouth, whose piety was more solid than Devonshire's philosophy, but liked trappings as well, had the discretion, however, not to complain—but the other candidate, who had more reason to be silent, was far less temperate. Lord Ashburnham, stung at the disappointment, threw up his post of Groom of the Stole, though the King had in the midst of his distress distinguished him by a singular preference, on purpose, it was supposed, to soften the breach of his promise. The new Ministers had offered his Majesty to save any two of his chief officers he would name. He had not only accepted so humiliating a boon, but had marked two of the most insignificant of his servants as the victims to be spared, the Duke of Montagu and Lord Ashburnham. For the first, there was a seeming pretence of decency as Governor of his son; the real reason was that he was not only the spy on that son, but the only man alive in whom the King had any confidence, or with whom he talked freely about his son, though he was totally unfit to be either Governor to the son or Counsellor to the father. To recommend Lord Ashburnham there was no plea at all. He was a most decent, reserved, and servile Courtier—but so were fifty others. He did not want sense, but it all centered in self-interest. He had by the same tacit suppleness made himself favourite of the Duke of Newcastle, and had abandoned him on his fall. Nor was he remarkable for anything but those noiseless stains that in spite of their discretion and address may be found in the secret history of most Courtiers, were it worth while to scrutinize them. But there was another man who had much more claim on the King's protection, to whom he did not extend it. This

was Lord Hertford—by no means a worse Courtier than Lord Ashburnham, and who, as being of more weight, thought himself far better entitled to be saved. As Lord Beauchamp was displaced as well as his father, Lord Hertford, and as their complaints were not disguised, the King's conduct on that occasion, though he had endeavoured to palliate it on Lord Ashburnham's case more than he had ever condescended to do before when compelled to sacrifice his friends, did him more real hurt than almost any act of his reign; I mean that it thence became the language that there was no depending on him—but what he lost, the country gained. He had endeavoured to attach all men *separately* to himself, and they had been base enough to embrace, and even excuse every hostility towards their country, on the plea of personal friendship for the King — when they perceived that that Royal amity was no insurance of their place, they were as ready to disclaim against his Majesty's dereliction of his friends, and consequently returned to the old style of connecting themselves with Ministers, which was not more commendable, but less dangerous, as Ministers can be changed more easily than the Sovereign, and are not guarded by so many sacred entrenchments.

Two other peerages were bestowed, for one of which there was as little reason as the other was a just recompence for the persecutions he had suffered. Admiral Keppel was made an English Viscount; and so Lord Howe, who before was an Irish one. His brother, Sir William, was also made a Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. Why these two brothers, who had accepted the charge of the American war against their principles, and against all their inclinations but the one of interest,

who had conducted it, treacherously as many thought, impotently as everybody knew, who had returned hostile to Ministers, yet, so far from joining the Opposition, had distressed it by counteracting it; why honours and profit were showered on two such men, who with the most constitutional intrepidity had no other merit of head or heart, is utterly inconceivable. No party owed gratitude to them. Many to whom distinctions were due Lord Rockingham had not power of serving. Mr. Burke's reforming bills, which had saved but a trifle to the public, distressed his party by cutting off many small places; thus the new Administration was very narrow, though in general more popular than could be expected, considering how much the nation had been set against them on the false accusation of their supporting Americans; though the truth was that the Americans, so far from thinking themselves supported by them, looked on themselves as abandoned.

Nor did the nation perceive that the new Ministers had stipulated for many constitutional points, much less were inclined to favour the pretensions of the associated counties. Lord Rockingham had evidently laboured to discredit them, and had succeeded to a considerable degree.

The two great services rendered by the new Ministers was carrying the bill for disabling contractors to sit in Parliament, and the still more essential point of taking away votes from excisemen and Custom-house officers, a very material wound to the influence of the Crown, and then setting on foot negotiations of peace with both America and France—though those Ministers affected neither of the two last. Their last stipulation with the Crown was that the famous vote on the Middlesex election should be rescinded.

But there was a great act of justice which they did not attempt to perform — that was punishment of the late

Ministers. It was a point which I had long laboured to inculcate into Lord Camden and the Duke of Richmond. No man living was more averse to *capital* punishments than I, but I had earnestly pressed the Duke to proceed to stigmatizing censures and fines—the latter would deter men in future from exerting too much alacrity in enlarging the prerogative, and the former would make it much more difficult for the Crown to recall its disgraced tools.

The Duke, though good-natured, was inclined to follow my advice, and Charles Fox, though as void of rancour, was eager for it; but they were totally checked by Lord Shelburne, who had devoted himself to the King, and by the Chancellor, whom they had pardoned and adopted, and who could taste punishment of Ministers with whom he had acted in every measure.

Lord Camden, devoted to Lord Shelburne *then*, would not differ with him, nor do I know that he was inclined to follow my advice. For the Duke of Richmond, he had cause in less than a year to find how thoroughly I had been in the right in counselling a measure which would have prevented a restoration of some of the most obnoxious late Ministers.

As I continued to press that measure on him when he found it could not be pursued, I think he was not pleased with me.

When I found that not even censure was to be passed on the late Ministers, I urged the Duke of Richmond at least to draw up a state and representation of the condition in which the affairs of the nation stood when delivered into their hands, in order thereafter to refer to that statement, whatever misfortunes might happen, to show that such misfortunes were the natural consequences of the ruined position of our affairs by the faults of the late Ministers.

Even this step, so requisite to their own defence, was not taken.

I had much better fortune in obtaining an object which I had still more at heart, though it was expected not only by no policy of mine, but much beyond my expectation. This was the appointment of General Conway to the command of the army. He had never paid any court either to Lord Rockingham or Lord Shelburne, or their factions, and had on the contrary always declared he was of no party; yet one of Lord Rockingham's demands on which he most insisted was that command for Conway, in the room of the dolt Lord Amherst. The steady devotion of the latter to the King and his total incapacity for so great a trust were glaring reasons for his removal; but why Lord Rockingham pitched on General Conway, except from the general voice of all mankind that he was the only fit person, was not so clear. The reason I guess was that, Lord Rockingham having first neglected, then been repulsed by, and then having insulted and persecuted the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, was afraid that the King should name his brother commander of the army, and then Lord R. knew he should have no power of disposing of regiments and commissions; Conway being neither ambitious nor desirous of power, Lord Rockingham flattered himself he should do what he would. He accordingly named Conway, and it was granted as easily as his other terms.

This was the centre of my wishes. I had long dreaded lest success or despair should infuse resolution enough into the King to endeavour to establish absolute power by the army. Had the conquest of America been achieved, I have not the smallest doubt but a triumphant army, returned from subduing the King's enemies, and stigmatized

by the Americans as Tories, would have been unbounded, being ready to make war on all called Whigs, and all the King should call his enemies: when that dread was banished by the success of the Americans, and by little or no army being left to return from that continent, the fear succeeded that either the county associations would break into rebellion, which Yorkshire at least was ready to do, or that they would provoke the King to resist their demands by arms. What could be so important then as to have the bravest, coolest, most constitutional General at the head of the army? Conway was the only man alive who would have supported the King's legal rights, would have concurred in no unconstitutional views, knew his trade far more profoundly than any man in the army, and was equally well versed in the laws and just rights of the nation; had intrepidity enough to face either the enemies of the Crown or of the country, and had too much coolness to be heated against either illegally. By commanding the army he stood as an isthmus between despotism and faction.

Yet though the choice of Conway satisfied all those views, there was one light in which it alarmed me. I had lately brought the Duke of Gloucester and Conway together, after having, for the sake of the latter, kept them asunder. I suspected that the Duke silently wished to be at the head of the army. It was a post proper for him, and the only one that was so; and though I had long known the King's resolution not to trust the army to any of the Royal family, yet, exasperated as he was at that moment at the new Ministers, who had forced themselves on him, and torn his old servants from him, and as I was sure the King knew that the Duke was angry both at Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, I feared, according

to an old maxim of mine, that men are always most angry at those with whom they have quarrelled last, and that, as nothing unites men more than hatred in common to a third, I feared, I say, that the King might prefer his brother to Conway, in order to disappoint Rockingham: if he should, and the Duke should accept it, I was far from flattering myself that a prince of the blood, newly reconciled to a King his brother, would be equally with Conway a rampart against prerogative. If the King should insist on his brother, and Lord Rockingham on Conway, and the latter should carry it, I should have been distressed as I had constantly been; my situation at Gloucester House would have been very uncomfortable. I was soon delivered from that dilemma by the following piece of address.

On the dissolution of the Ministry the Duke of Richmond had told General Conway that he was to be Commander-in-Chief. He had replied he did not desire it, and thought it should be the Duke of Gloucester, whom he wished me to acquaint with his answer; but I did not think it proper yet. The next day it was reported that the King would name his brother. I soon after heard that the Duke of Cumberland had gone up to Lord Bateman in the Drawing-room, and told him, insultingly, that he was to lose his place, and that Lord Bateman, who was not famous for repartee, had replied, "Sir, I hear the Duke of Gloucester is to be Commander-in-Chief"—an answer that struck the silly Prince dumb, for he had hated his brother Gloucester, and had no chance of being anything himself. I hastened to Gloucester House, and told the Duchess Lord Bateman's excellent answer, concluding it would draw something from her by which I might judge whether the Duke had any hopes of the command, before I acquainted them that Lord Rockingham intended it for

Conway. What I had foreseen happened. She said she was glad of the rebuff given to the Duke of Cumberland, though the report was not true, for that the Duke of Gloucester, having been told of it, had said, "The consent of four persons is wanting to that arrangement—the King's, my own, Lord Rockingham's, and Lord Shelburne's." On this, so favourable an opening, I acquainted her with Conway's answer to the Duke of Richmond, with which she was pleased, and said she would relate it to the Duke. His Royal Highness showed no disappointment at Conway's preferment, and was civil to him on it. I am persuaded he would have liked it himself, as was natural; but that he would not have accepted, unless the King would have received the Duchess.

There was one of the former Administration who might have been saved if he pleased—Lord Carlisle. Charles Fox and he had been intimate from school; and in the height of Fox's extravagance and distress from gaming debts, Lord Carlisle had been bound for him in so large a sum, that, with his own dissipation, his affairs were much embarrassed and put to nurse. Fox, mindful of his obligations, had obtained to have Lord Carlisle left Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but the latter, warm and haughty as any Howard could be, and prompted by his self-sufficient secretary, Eden, who had devoted himself to Lord North, no sooner heard of the revolution than he sent over his resignation and demanded to be recalled. This vacancy accommodated Lord Rockingham, who immediately despatched the Duke of Portland to take the government of Ireland.

The Duke of Portland pleased in Ireland, and Eden's industry made *him* popular; yet neither Lord Charlemont, the General of the Volunteers, nor his popular orator

Grattan, would treat with the Duke of Portland. It was at this period that Grattan made his famous speech for the independence of Ireland, for which their Parliament, in the drunkenness of gratitude, voted him 50,000*l*. He deserved better for a subsequent action. Marrying a young woman with whom he was in love, he settled on her only a jointure out of his own small original fortune; his parliamentary grant he entailed on his heirs male, should he have any, but if he should not have, said, the noble boon should return to the public who had bestowed it. I have latterly said little of the affairs of Ireland, which, having shaken the English yoke, is become in a manner a separate history, and, like America, will probably have one: at least I have not been conversant enough in their affairs to be able to give anything better than very general information; nor even of our own transactions do I mean here to set down more than hints of public events, and some particulars less known that fell within my knowledge.

The post of Groom of the Stole, which Lord Ashburnham had quitted as angrily, might have been bestowed properly on another of the late Opposition, but it was strangely conferred on one who neither deserved it from them nor any man. This was Lord Weymouth, who had twice in the most dastardly manner run out of employment on various apprehensions, yet had neither joined the Opposition nor given much support to the late Administration. Lord Shelburne now recommended him for Groom of the Stole, as not at all disagreeable to the King; and Weymouth having married the Duke of Portland's sister, Lord Rockingham did not oppose it. Yet the late Court were so secure of Shelburne's disposition to them, that the Lord Advocate said to Lord North, "You should not let your friends abuse Shelburne, for he is ours;" but Lord North

was not at all disposed to cement that union. The Lord Advocate, equally ready for any treachery or any mischief, and who, from a vapouring disposition, often betrayed his intentions, said, on hearing that Burke proposed to annihilate certain Scotch sinecures, "Let him take care; Scotland is ready to break the Union!"

One promising young man in the Opposition the public expected to see advanced, William Pitt, but he refused all preferment. What was offered to him I do not know, nor whether any post was specified; but that he declined neither from modesty nor virtue was soon made evident.

I have said that the new Ministers either would not or could not pass so much as a censure on their very criminal predecessors. They were more passive still, for they endured rewards to be heaped on two of the most guilty. Lord North retired with a pension of 4000*l.* a-year; and Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, and who, from Lord North's indolence, was a principal agent in all business, had another of 1000*l.* Charles Fox, it is true, inveighed bitterly in the House of Commons against the former, and Sawbridge moved for a question on both. Robinson pleaded poverty, and affected it by letting his house and selling his coach-horses, though, till questioned, he had displayed great opulence, and had just given his daughter, with a large fortune, to Lord Abergavenny's eldest son; but the motion was defeated by the previous question.

27*th.* Admiral Barrington, a brave seaman, who, in spite of the connexions of his family (his eldest brother, and the Bishop, and the Judge being zealous Courtiers), had declined of late any command under Lord Sandwich and the last Ministers, had accepted one under the new, and, being employed in the Channel, now defeated a large French armament that had sailed from Brest, and was

supposed to be destined for Jamaica. He took a 74-gun ship, thirteen transports, and dispersed the rest. These were the first fruits of a new Administration.

The Lord Advocate commenced an inquiry and prosecution in Parliament against Sir Thomas Rumbold, one of the most enriched of the Indian nabobs.

APRIL.

4th. THERE was a meeting of the Associations at York. They agreed to trust the new Ministers at least for the present, and adjourned for a year to give them a fair trial. A principal inducement to this temper was, that the Duke of Richmond, who had given in to the wildest visions of the right of every man to vote for representatives, had extorted an unwilling engagement from his fellows, the other Ministers, that a Committee of the House of Commons should be appointed to examine, and, if they could, agree on any system (which was most unlikely in such a chaos of opinions and interests) to settle a new and juster mode of representation—an engagement diverted by the subsequent schisms, and forgotten in the flat rejection of the demands of the Associations.

8th. The new Ministers being re-chosen, the House of Commons met again, when, instead of any crimination produced by them against any of their predecessors, a heinous attempt was made by one of the most active of the late criminal tools to embarrass the Ministers, by a deed that, though aimed at them, might have produced the

most mischievous consequences and confusions to the nation.

Eden, Lord Carlisle's Secretary, had posted over with the Earl's resignation. So exasperated was the wretch, that not only, keeping himself private, he had secret intercourse with and incitement from Lord Loughborough, but he positively *refused* to communicate a syllable of the state of Ireland to Lord Shelburne, the Secretary of State. On the contrary, Colonel Luttrell, an ominous name, instigated probably by Loughborough and Eden, rose as soon as the House met, and called on the new Ministers to declare what measures they meant to pursue for pacifying the disquiets and alarms of Ireland, not yet satisfied that what had been done for her was either substantial or irrevocable. On this hostile ground mounted Eden, and, in a passionate speech, ill coloured over with pretended zeal, called for a repeal of the Act of George I., that was the most grievous link of their chain of subjection. Unfortunately for this incendiary, a spear, like that of Milton's angel, that, touching Satan, made him start up in his proper shape, was in the hand of Charles Fox. His vehement eloquence, that had so often borne down Lord North, Sandwich, and the late Junto, was now displayed in detecting all the abominable artifice and insolence of Eden: while, with the greatest address and discretion, he steered clear of any offence to Ireland, he overwhelmed Eden with shame and guilt—not with remorse—for though universal indignation burst on the head of Eden, his obstinate pride would not recant, nor would he withdraw his motion, till General Conway, as powerful in expressing indignant virtue as Fox, in the thunder of abilities, threatening Eden with a vote of censure on his wicked conduct, which was re-echoed by an hundred voices that called on him to

propose that stigma, the miscreant, more terrified than abashed, submitted to waive his purpose.

I will heap other incidents to connect further circumstances relative to Eden and his patron Lord Carlisle, neither of them being of consequence enough to interrupt the narration again. Soon after the return of Lord Carlisle, died Earl Talbot, the Lord Steward, who had been left in his post from the nearness of his approaching dissolution. The new Ministers had been able to find but few places for many Peers who had long supported them in Opposition. The King had saved some beyond the two that he had been indulged to protect, as the Duke of Dorset and Lord Oxford. Yet was not one of the new Ministers' friends thought on for the Steward's wand. Lord Shelburne, who was seeking to fortify himself against the Rockingham division by potent friends, offered the stick to the Duke of Marlborough, and, though the Duke declined it, gained him. Charles Fox, not thinking his debt of gratitude yet paid, solicited for Lord Carlisle, and procured him to be appointed Lord Steward. The young Earl, who had been so lightly inflamed by Eden, as lightly was seduced from his influence, and was charmed to gain a showy sinecure in lieu of the important office he had quitted. Eden affected not to resent his dereliction. When in less than three months his protector, Fox, resigned his office, Carlisle did not act as if he thought it was necessary for a reciprocation of good offices to take their constant turns between them. He adhered to Fox's enemy, Shelburne; and Carlisle's friends affirmed that his Lordship did not owe the staff to Fox, but to his father-in-law, Lord Gower, who at that moment had not a glimpse of interest. In the following winter, when Shelburne's fall advanced rapidly, Lord Carlisle fired the

signal for deserting him, and, on the pretence of the American loyalists being abandoned, resigned his office, in concert, it was reasonably supposed, with Fox, who again rewarded him with the post of Privy Seal, and a seat in the Cabinet. Eden was at the same time dragged into light and emolument by Lord North, who obtained for him a Vice-Treasurership of Ireland.

These anecdotes may not be worthy of entering into a history of England; but they are strong lines in the history of Courts, of factions, of the human heart!

12*th*. The bill for disabling Contractors from sitting in Parliament passed the House of Commons. Alderman Harley defended his acting as a contractor.

15*th*. The King sent a message to the House of Commons recommending economy. Burke in that House, and Lord Shelburne in the other, were ridiculously extravagant in panegyrics on his Majesty for this magnanimity which certainly was no measure of his, but an artifice of their own, and but a shallow one, to persuade the people that they meant to adhere to their former principles, while their flattery was rather a symptom that they would not.

Overtures were made by the new Ministers to the Dutch for a separate peace, but were rejected by them.

I have said that the new Ministers were distressed for want of places to satisfy their friends; yet, to the honour of their party, it should be told, that neither at this period nor at that in the ensuing year did they lose many friends from want of the power to serve them. The party not only saw that it was not their fault, but that the King did everything he could to add to their embarrassment by withholding whatever he could. In these difficulties Lord Rockingham behaved with more zeal and decency than Lord Shelburne. An instance of the latter's impolitic insensibility

appeared in the case of Lord Cholmondeley; and, in fact, artful as Lord Shelburne affected to be, it is certain that his art was so clumsy, so gross, or so ill-timed and so contradictory to itself, that he could not have fallen so soon as he did if he had had no art at all. Lord Cholmondeley had peculiarly attached himself to him. Not being able to provide for him, instead of excusing himself, he congratulated Lord Cholmondeley on remaining independent, which was, and was felt as, an insult. I have mentioned above his flattery to the King. He went farther: he told the Chancellor, as a new discovery that he had just made, that he was amazed at the genius he found in the King! The Chancellor laughed in his face—could it be avoided? Lord Shelburne had been early intimate with the King, from his youth, through Lord Bute; and had, till dismissed by the Duke of Grafton, been Secretary of State for some time. The Chancellor, instead of reporting the encomium to the King, as Shelburne expected, told it to everybody else with contempt.

MAY.

1*st*. THE Contractors' Bill was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of 45. Eden, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Townshend, strenuous supporters of the late Administration, voted for it. The Chancellor and Lord Mansfield opposed it.

The Duke of Richmond obtained the pardon of the infamous parson Bate, who had been imprisoned for writing a foul libel on his Grace.

3rd. The Middlesex election was at last rescinded. Charles Fox, who had always opposed that correction, made a most manly and fair defence of himself on that occasion.

7th. William Pitt, meaning to acquire popularity against Charles Fox, who he hoped would lose it by his preferment, and possessed of a plan of his father for a more equal representation, moved for a Committee to inquire into the state of it, according to the promise made by the Duke of Richmond to the Yorkshire Association, but it was rejected, by a motion of Sir Horace Mann for the previous question, by 161 to 141; and thus the House of Commons absolved the Ministers from their engagement to the Duke.

General Conway proposes a plan for arming the people, which is adopted.

I have lost the notes I had taken, or had taken scarce any, of what passed in the rest of Lord Rockingham's Administration, which terminated so soon that the hiatus is inconsiderable. The public events may be found in various publications. The material features were the masterly abilities of Charles Fox and the intrigues of Lord Shelburne. The former displayed such facility in comprehending and executing all business as charmed all who approached him. No formal affectation delayed any service or screened ignorance. He seized at once the important points of every affair, and every affair was thence reduced within small compass—not to save himself trouble, for at once he gave himself up to the duties of his office. His good humour, frankness, and sincerity pleased, and yet inspired a respect which he took no other pains to attract. The Foreign Ministers were in admiration of him. They had found few who understood foreign affairs, or who

attended to them; and no man who spoke French so well, or could explain himself in so few words. While Fox thus unfolded his character so advantageously, Shelburne was busied in devoting himself to the King and in traversing Lord Rockingham and Fox in every point. If they opened a negotiation, he commenced another underhand at the same Court. Mr. Fox despatched Thomas Grenville to Paris; Lord Shelburne sent one, two, or three privately to the same place, and addressed them to different Ministers, or persons of supposed credit. He instigated young Pitt against Fox, and courted the Associations in the country. All these treacheries were soon discovered; no doubt many more little artifices escaped notice. Fox warmly resented being traversed in material points, and did not disguise them to the Earl. He even threatened to resign, which was far from damping Shelburne's insincerity—probably encouraged it. Yet, while he crossed and offended his allies, he put little confidence in most of his own friends. Building on the King's favour, he fancied it able to bear him out—only because he intended it should. He could have no better foundation for his hopes than his resolution of buying it by any servility, at any price. Was it probable, when Lord North had been just borne from the King against his will, that Shelburne, really hated by his Majesty, should be able, with the fragment of a faction, to stand against all England? It had been the precise case and tenor of Lord Grenville. When Sir Robert Walpole had been overturned by the Opposition, and Mr. Pelham, like Lord Rockingham, had succeeded on the ground of a fair character, and by the support of great alliances and connections with potent Lords, Lord Grenville imagined that, by gratifying the German views of George II., he should

stem all opposition. The cases were parallel, and so were the consequences.

Lord Rockingham had been unhealthy from his childhood, and had lost one or two elder brothers by the badness of their constitutions. Ill health, and a frame most nervous and without vigour, ought to have checked his vanity of desiring to be Prime Minister—for it was vanity rather than ambition. When he attained his point this second time, he was much more debilitated. His physicians were aware that the fatigue of business would soon destroy him—and it did. In the very last days of June it was known that he was at the point of death.

JULY.

1*st*. Lord Rockingham expired calmly, and perfectly in his senses.

The King showed his aversion to Lord Rockingham so indecently and so meanly, that, though he had accepted him for his Minister, he did not once send to inquire how the Marquis did when he was dying.

Lord Rockingham's history, in the abstract, was short and singular. By the death of the Duke of Devonshire, and by the want of a man at once of high birth, influence, and abilities, Lord Rockingham had been regarded as the head of the Opposition; not that a proper leader was wanting. Lord Chatham might have commanded the Opposition, but his intractable mind, his unsociable obstinacy, and his scorn of owing anything but to himself, had estranged the Opposition, in reality not well inclined

to him, but too destitute of capacity among themselves not to be often ready to obey him, had he condescended to dictate; and thus, by having driven all men from him, he lived for some years vainly expecting that his name would again lift him to pre-eminence, and died when nothing but the manner of his death (in the midst of an oration in Parliament) could have occasioned the smallest sensation, or revived a respect which he had worn out. The eccentricity of Lord Chatham left room, in the year 1765, for Lord Rockingham to attain the first post, which he was forced to quit in a year to Lord Chatham, who had repented of his unpliability. A second dissolution of Government, in 1782, again opened the way to Lord Rockingham. Thus he twice attained his object, but kept it the first time only a year, the second but for three months.

It was puerile though not strange want of policy in Lord Rockingham's friends not to have seized the opportunity of his Lordship's approaching dissolution to take measures for naming the successor. He died before there was the least guess in the public who it would be. This looked as if the Rockingham party thought themselves unprovided with any man fit for so arduous a charge. Lord John Cavendish seemed so little prepared for the emergency, that he indecently declared in private that now Lord Rockingham was gone he cared no more about politics. This was his first sensation; his next, and which, though not uppermost on the loss of Lord Rockingham, was nearest to his heart, was that the house of Cavendish ought to have the exclusive right of naming a Prime Minister—not that the honour of enjoying such exclusive nomination was all that flattered Lord John's vanity. He could not help looking a little in that nomination to the

practicability of the person he should name. Disclaiming ambition in his own person, Lord John did not dislike to govern the Prime Minister.

Of the Rockingham faction there were but two persons who could pretend to any expectation of succeeding to the Marquis. These were the Duke of Richmond and Charles Fox. The marvellous abilities of the second excluded all competition in that respect: every other consideration was against him — the King's aversion, his own desperate fortune, disreputation with the public; nor had he been but of late at all connected with that faction. The prudery of Lord John's virtue, that had excommunicated Wilkes, had long distasted Fox; the present emergence endeared him to Lord John: yet Fox was of too superior abilities and too apt to think and act for himself, to present a tame candidate to one so fond of dictating as Lord John. He entered into the strictest union with Fox, but had the address to make him his instrument, not his nominee.

The Duke of Richmond was not only the first of that faction in rank and abilities, but ought long before to have had the pre-eminence of Lord Rockingham. Impressed with the meanest opinion of Lord Rockingham's talents and firmness, which I frequently ridiculed to the Duke, I had more than once pressed him to assume the command of the party, and had represented the impropriety of such parliamentary abilities, spirit, and activity as his Grace's acting in subordination to an almost unit; yet such was the Duke's sacred respect to friendship that he would never hear of any competition with Lord Rockingham.

When the Marquis was out of the question, confidence in himself, justice, and perhaps my former suggestions must have whispered to the Duke of Richmond that the

vacant place was due to him. I had reason afterwards to believe that he at least expected that the Cavendishes, his dear friends, would think of no other man; yet at that time he gave not the slightest indication of such a wish. Lord John took care not to inspire him with it; nor did it seem to occur even to Burke; though as he, with all his ungovernable fancy and want of judgment, had a great ascendant over the Duke, as well as over Charles Fox, he might have expected much weight under the Duke's administration.

Objections no doubt there were. The King's aversion to the Duke was not less known than to Fox. The Duke, with a thousand virtues, was exceedingly unpopular; but these were not, I should think, what operated on Lord John, at least, not the first. But the Duke, though so warm a friend, was far from being always a tractable one. He was apt to have speculative visions, not suited to practice, and was peculiarly romantic upon the article of Parliamentary representation, even beyond the ideas of the Associations. With the Yorkshire Association Lord Rockingham had been, and Lord John was, at most open enmity.

But when Lord John recurred to his first principles, a Cavendish for First Minister, and a tool ductile to himself, his thoughts did not wander to another great family. In two days the town heard with astonishment that the Rockingham faction set up for First Minister the Duke of Portland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a novel symptom by which alone he was at all known. Nobody recollected that he had been Lord Chamberlain in Lord Rockingham's first administration. From that time he had lived in the most stately but most domestic privacy, often in the country, and latterly in Burlington House,

lent to him by the Duke of Devonshire, whose sister Portland had married, the Duke of Portland being in too great straits to have a house of his own. His fortune (though 12,000*l.* a year were still detained from him by his mother the Duchess Dowager) had been noble; but obscure waste, enormous expense in elections in contesting the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland with Sir James Lowther, in which the Duke had received bitter treatment from the Crown, and too much compassion for an idle and worthless younger brother, Lord Edward, to support whose extravagance he had deeply dipped his estate, had brought him into great distresses, now increased by the expense of his Viceroyalty, which he did not enjoy long enough to indemnify himself. In other respects his character was unimpeached, but he had never attempted to show any Parliamentary abilities, nor had the credit of possessing any; nor did it redound to the honour of his faction, that in such momentous times they could furnish their country with nothing but a succession of mutes.

Still Lord John's arrogant modesty was received as law by his faction, and Lord Shelburne was desired by the voice of the party to acquaint his Majesty that the Whigs recommended the Duke of Portland to his Majesty to succeed Lord Rockingham. Lord Shelburne with equal mummery accepted the commission, and, returning with modest confusion and friendly grief, reported to the delegates that to his own extreme surprise and affliction his Majesty had been pleased to appoint himself First Lord of the Treasury.

Such an affront to the sovereignty of the Cavendishes was received with proper spirit. The signal of resignation was fired by Charles Fox, who instantly carried the seals

to St. James's, declaring that the day before the death of Lord Rockingham he had notified his intention of resigning, unable to endure the treacheries of Shelburne, and his interference in his (Fox's) province. Lord John as immediately announced his own retreat, and no doubt expected it would be followed by all of his connection; but he was disappointed, as he had been when his brother had been disgraced in 1763. He now made but few martyrs. Few saw the propriety or expediency of the Duke of Portland being Minister. The temperate did see the mischief of disunion in the party, and apprehended that it would tend to a restoration of the old Ministry, and consequently to a revival of the American war. The King, no doubt, exulted (as he often did in events that soon heaped new humiliations on himself) in having divided a party that had often thwarted his views, and had so lately compelled him to receive them on their own terms.

In the first moment of the breach the Duke of Richmond was inclined to resign with the Cavendishes. He could not be willing to remain in a Court to which he was unwelcome, nor to break with his party, nor to quit them for Shelburne, whose intrusion and obstruction to the views of Lord Rockingham and his friends he had so lately with them resented; but whether sensibility to their preference of the Duke of Portland offended him, whether they demanded his co-operation too impetuously, or whether his delight in his new office, the Ordnance, which furnished his activity with employment and his virtue with prospects of reformation, preponderated, he soon disapproved of the measure of retreat; and Burke and Charles Fox, as inconsiderately as the Cavendishes, though more decently, as steadily condemned the Duke's separation from them.

Fox being his Grace's nephew, the Duke was most offended with him. I was fortunately one of those evenings with the Duke when Fox came to expostulate with him. I would have retired, but the Duke pressed me to stay. Fox was very urgent, the Duke very firm. I interposed, and told Fox that, though I was persuaded that no man in England was so fit to be Minister as himself, yet I could not but disapprove his and his friends' disuniting the party, nor thought they had sufficient grounds for breaking with Lord Shelburne. I entreated both him and the Duke to argue without passion, and to remember that being such near relations they must come together again, and therefore I hoped neither would say what the other could never forgive. I did prevent any warmth, and they parted civilly, though equally discontent with each other. The point that stuck most with the Duke was his cousin and friend Admiral Keppel, whom the zeal of Lord Rockingham and the Cavendishes on his trial called on to fulfil his debt of gratitude. To Lord Shelburne he had had no obligations; to the Duke of Richmond the same as to the Cavendishes. The Duke did prevent the Admiral's immediate resignation, but he declared he meditated it, and did intend it so much that he satisfied the Cavendishes; and they in their turn chose to seem satisfied, that by maintaining friendship with him they might preserve opportunities of urging him to resign. This dubious conduct to Keppel led the Duke to profess the same kind of neutral ambiguity. Keppel professed to retain the Admiralty but till the peace:[1] the Duke, the Ordnance till he should complete his reforms.

[1] It would have been improper in Keppel to resign at that moment. He had sent Admiral Pigot to supersede Lord Rodney, who had just obtained a great victory. News had come of the Quebec fleet being taken. Had Keppel retired then, he would have opened new ways to his enemies of loading him with obloquy, and given them power to oppress him.

General Conway was not in the same difficult situation. Lord Rockingham, it was true, had placed him at the head of the army; but his acceptance had been a reciprocal compliment: he had been earnestly solicited during Lord North's administration to take the command, and all mankind had allowed him to be the only proper person; yet, disapproving the American war and Lord North's measures, he had declined acceptance; yet he had uniformly on all occasions declared himself of no party, nor in any opposition but to the American war. He had never engaged in any concert or counsels with Lord Rockingham; and if he leaned to any faction by ties, it was to the Duke of Grafton, who chose him into Parliament, and who adhered to Lord Shelburne, and to his son-in-law, the Duke of Richmond. He looked on the resignation of Fox as a violence of faction, which might impede the peace and restore the old Ministers; and could have no idea why the Duke of Portland should be Minister, nor why any man should resign because he was not. Still less did he think that the government of the army ought to be an instrument of faction; and having long determined to confine himself to his profession, he would not be the tool of intrigues. Fox and Burke resented his neutrality, and the latter particularly ridiculed it in a speech in the House of Commons; though on Conway's motion that gave the first majority to the Opposition, Fox had pronounced a sublime panegyric on the services of Conway, whom he congratulated as having twiced saved his country: first, by moving for the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1765; and recently, by moving to stop the prosecution of the American war. Conway replied with temper, called the House to witness how often he had disclaimed all factions, and referred to the disinterestedness of his life for the purity of his intentions and conduct.

But Conway's strongest reason for remaining in office was of far higher nature than any political ties. Negociations for peace both with France and America were in agitation—was the consideration of whether Portland or Shelburne should be Prime Minister important enough to cross such national, such urgent objects?

In a conversation with Lord John Cavendish not long afterwards I told him frankly that I should rejoice that Mr. Conway had retained his post. He had pledged himself to the House of Commons and to the public that America was disposed to make peace with us; was not his honour then at stake to endeavour to realize his engagements?

The paucity of followers was a sad lesson to the designers of their ill-digested precipitation. Fox grew sensible of it, and confessed it. Richard Fitzpatrick, his friend, and Secretary of Ireland, who seconded the admonitions of the Cavendishes to the Duke of Portland to quit his Viceroyalty, as he did, though entreated by the new Premier in the King's name to retain it—Fitzpatrick, I say, though his sister was Lord Shelburne's wife, chose to follow the fortune of his friend rather than of his brother-in-law. Meeting me at the play on his return from Ireland, he said to me, "I hear you disapprove us, and indeed I do not know whether we have not been in the wrong." I replied, "Mr. Fitzpatrick, I feel too much concern to have any room for blame."

Edmund Burke was too considerable a personage at that moment not to demand a fuller detail on his conduct. I had seen more than once circumstances that made me question the immaculate purity of his views. Still he stood in the highest light of integrity with the Rockingham party; for, though reduced to almost indigence by the

failure of his stockjobbing, he had preserved incorruptible attachment to his party. Lord Rockingham had immediately on becoming Minister a second time heaped on him and his family the most lucrative offices. Himself was made Paymaster in the room of Rigby, though, according to his own Reforming Bill, with a salary of only 4000*l.* a year. His son was made Deputy-master, and had a small sinecure for life added. His brother was appointed Secretary to the Treasury; and his cousin William was sent to India a with very rich office created on purpose for him. Such opulence, scarce tasted, it was hard to give up—yet he did not hesitate. Nor, as usual, did he take his part with temper. The enthusiasm of his luxuriant imagination presented every measure to him in the most vivid colours. In truth, it had been suspected for above a year that his intellects and sensations had mutually overheated each other: his behaviour in the ensuing year did not remove the supposition.

At the very moment when the Cavendishes sounded highest their encomiums on the sacrifices Mr. Burke was going to make, I received a letter from him to desire an interview with me the very next morning. As he had imagined on a former occasion that his eloquence could persuade me to use my interest with General Conway to adapt himself to Lord Rockingham's dictates, I concluded that a similar overture was to be made to me now, though the former had made no impression on me; but how astonished was I when he came and opened his business!

It must be observed that, though Lord John Cavendish had notified his resolution of quitting the Treasury, it had been necessary for him to retain the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which cannot remain vacant a day, till the new Board should take possession; consequently, there

being no First Lord regularly admitted, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other Commissioners, who also had not yet given up their trusts, were empowered to bestow whatever places should become vacant in the gift of the Treasury till the new Commission should be issued out. Be it remembered, too, that Lord John was drawn within forty-eight hours of the time when his occupation of the office was to cease.

Burke's business with me was to desire me to propose to my brother Sir Edward Walpole, Clerk of the Pells (an employment for life, which during the war had been stated by the Commissioners of Accounts to produce to him 7000*l.* a year), to resign that office, in consideration of receiving the full yearly value of it during Sir Edward's life (and I think there was an additional offer to Sir Edward of the disposal of the junior Burke's place). The resignation was to be made that very day, that Lord Cavendish might bestow it on Edmund Burke the father, before his Lordship resigned his office. Full security, Burke assured me, should be given to Sir Edward that he should be no loser, unless the office should be reduced by Parliament, as it probably would be, and then Sir Edward should receive the full of the reduced value.

So frantic a proposal I suppose was never made. I had at no time lived in friendship with Mr. Burke, and latterly we had had no intercourse, though always on civil terms when we met by accident. With Sir Edward, Mr. Burke I believe had never exchanged a syllable. How was it possible to expect that a man possessed of the second most valuable office in the Exchequer for life would resign it in favour of a man with whom he had not the slightest acquaintance—and merely to leave the disposal of another very trifling place to some other person? But to expect he

would resign it on a promise of security from a man of desperate fortune, which security he could not possibly have time to examine—and, what was a thousand times more wonderful, that he should resign it on the mere promise of security from a stranger, for it would have been utterly impossible to have executed the deeds before Lord John should resign his place—not to mention that such a transfer of office at a moment of reformation would have been the most likely of all circumstances to have provoked Parliament to annihilate the office; could a man be in his senses who had encouraged such a vision, or must not he have hoped that I had lost mine, when he proposed to me to go on such a message? However, astonished as I was at the absurdity of the request, I commanded myself enough to make the following temperate answer—that I would acquaint my brother with Mr. Burke's request, though I would not bind myself to advise it; that though, for fear of being thought to make my court to him (Burke) while our patent places were in suspense, as I had determined never to take any step to solicit for saving mine, but to submit the decision entirely to Parliament, I had never taken notice of my gratitude to him (Burke) for his handsome mention of my father in his speech for reformation, yet I had felt it and had expressed my gratitude in a state of my case which I had drawn up. But I could by no means venture to give advice to my brother on a point of such very great consequence—he must do on it as he should please: he was not in town, but at Isleworth, whither I must go to him. This was strictly true, and made it still more impracticable to despatch such an affair in so short a time. And I added, that I must be so frank as to tell Mr. Burke that Sir Edward was a most warm anti-American, and did not speak with much patience on those who disapproved the American war.

Mr. Burke was much disheartened at so unexpected a state of the case, and chose to say no more himself on the subject, but he made his son write to me that night and come to me the next morning to persuade me of the goodness of the security; but I so amply exposed to him the improbability of a man's resigning 7000*l.* a year for no reason, and merely on a *promise* of indemnification, that the son saw the folly of the proposal and gave it up.

One passage the son dropped that was very memorable. He said his father had always intended to get the office of Clerk of the Pells. This struck me, and explained what I had never comprehended, which was why in Mr. Burke's reforming bill that office had not been mentioned among the great sinecures that were to be annihilated on the deaths of the present incumbents. Can one but smile at a reformer of abuses reserving the second greatest abuse for himself?

This transaction was known to very few indeed. A more heinous one soon became public, and deservedly raised the indignation of mankind. On this change of the Ministry it came out that Lord Shelburne had obtained a pension of 3000*l.* a year for life for his friend Colonel Barré. Lord Shelburne had had the address to persuade Lord Rockingham, and he had had the folly, with Lord John Cavendish and Frederick Montagu, to pass that grant. It was so offensive that notice was immediately taken of it in the House of Commons, where Barré's defence of himself was still more impudent than his acceptance of the grant. He pleaded having lost his commission in the army for having opposed the Court from conscience; and urged that, had he remained in the service, he might by that time have been a General, and have had a regiment and government equal in value to his pension. When men calculate their own merits, and how much they have lost by their virtue, and

bring in their bill accordingly, it is impossible not to suppose that they never intended to be losers by their conscience—nay, that they preferred virtue as having the better of the day. The House of Commons accepted that broker-like apology. I have often observed that a great assembly is as cowardly as any individual. No man likes to utter to another's face in a personal question the gross reproaches the latter deserves. Lord North's and Robinson's pensions had escaped by the same general timidity.

Scandalous as Barré's case was, I think Dunning's still worse. He and Barré, the latter indeed more brutally, had declared on Burke's reforming bill for taking away all sinecure patent places even from the present possessors, though, as it appeared, in 1783 the lawyers and the whole House of Commons, within a very few, declared that no freehold was or ought to be more sacred. Dunning, being a lawyer, had less excuse than Barré for breaking a law which he himself had co-operated in making. Parliament had voted abolishment of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a pension of 4000*l.* a year for life. It has been not uncustomary to give pensions to eminent lawyers who accept great offices, to indemnify them for losing the gains by their profession. Dunning might have had a pension—but why the abolished Duchy? Was it not wanton insolence? Did he not seem the moment he became a Courtier to have satisfaction in laughing at his own act of patriotism?

This effrontery of Shelburne, Barré, and Dunning, and the rapacious profligacy of the two latter, was still more cruelly contrasted at the end of the year. Shelburne, pretending to pursue reformation, struck off a parcel of small offices and pensions that had been bestowed on old servants and dependants, now grown aged and incapable of getting their bread; yet Dunning's and Barré's

pensions perhaps wasted more public money than the salaries of fifty reduced persons would discharge.

The whole scene of reformation was a mummery that at once insulted the nation, virtue, and charity, and enriched only the principal reformers.

I have mentioned the negligence or stupefaction of Lord Rockingham's friends on his death, in having taken no measures to procure the election of a successor from among themselves, or to sound the inclinations of their friends whether it would not be better to remain in place with Shelburne than divide the party, before they could assign any ostensible reason for breaking with him. He had concurred with them in, nay boasted that *he* had procured the King's assent to the independence of America; he had supported their reforming plans, even to the abolition of votes in officers of the revenue, though such was a defalcation of the Crown's influence. To divide from him on the single question of whether he, at least accustomed to business, or the Duke of Portland, totally unpractised, should be selected, was reducing all to a personal contest for power. Shelburne, consequently, being also avowedly preferred by the King, detached many Whigs from the Rockingham remnant, and left them so scanty a faction, that, though Shelburne's folly soon played the game again into their hands, they were not able to avail themselves of the opportunity but by calling in the aid of enemies against whom they had urged far deeper charges of guilt.

The Rockingham party, in a council of nine, had proposed to declare America independent previously to any treaty. Shelburne objected—and they were divided four and four; but Conway turned the question in favour of the negative by representing that the acknowledgment of independence might be a leading argument for their

making peace with us; but should they refuse peace, should we not weaken our right of warring on them by having acknowledged their independence?

Fox and their junto having resigned, Lord Shelburne took possession of the Treasury, and adorned his new Board with the most useful acquisition, and by the most artful address, of his whole administration—this was by offering the Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer to young William Pitt, who, with youthful and thence pardonable vanity, readily accepted them, and the more difficult task of enlisting himself as the rival of Charles Fox, who had fondly espoused, and kindly, not jealously nor fearfully, wished to have him his friend.

Young as Fox was, Pitt was then ten years younger; and what a fund of knowledge and experience were ten years in possession of such a master genius as Fox, besides the prodigious superiority of solid parts! Yet Fox left by neglect some advantages to Pitt. The one trusted to his natural abilities, and, whenever he wanted, never found them fail; Pitt, on the contrary, attended to nothing but the means of gratifying his ambition. His application was not a moment relaxed, and he was not less abstemious and temperate—even attention to his health was unremitted—as if he feared that hereditary gout would traverse his career, as it had often broken in on his father's. No juvenile avocations diverted him from his studies, nor left reproaches from the grave on his character. Fox seemed to leave pleasure with regret, and to bestow only spare moments on the government of a nation; Pitt to make industry and virtue the ladders of his ambition. Fox's greatness was innate; and if he had ambition, it was the only passion which he took no pains to gratify. He disguised no vice, he used no art, he despised application,

he sought no popularity; a warm friend and almost incapable of being provoked by one; void of all inveteracy; and only an enemy when spirit called on him to resent, or the foe was so great that he was too bold not to punish, as he showed the next year by insisting on the dismission of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Advocate. Pitt cultivated friends to form a party, and had already attached many considerable young men to himself.

It is a singular and perhaps a totally novel combination of circumstances, that Charles Fox and William Pitt, the second sons of Henry Lord Holland and William Lord Chatham, who themselves were second sons, should become rivals and the first men in the House of Commons, as their fathers had been a little more than twenty years before.

Pitt had not the commanding brilliancy of his father, nor his imposing air and person; but his language was more pure and correct, and his method and reasoning better. Fox had not the ungraceful hesitation of his father, yet scarce equalled him in subtlety and acuteness. But no man ever exceeded him in the closeness of argument, which flowed from him in a torrent of vehemence, as declamation sometimes does from those who most want argument.

He alone was a match for the nervous sense of Thurlow, and could dismount the wit and pleasantry of Lord North. Without that conciliating jocoseness, and without the exuberant imagery of Burke, Fox's allusions were beautiful and happy, and he often possessed that superior kind of wit which, without being sought, results from the clearness of ideas and knowledge of the world, and which comes by intuition and not by fancy. It was one of Fox's merits that, though he idolized the imagination of Burke, the quickness and fire of Hare, the genteel irony and badinage

of Fitzpatrick, and the gaiety of Sheridan, he never aimed at wit himself, which was not his peculiar talent. Good sense and reasoning were his native language; he neither sought what he had not nor studied to make the most of what he had. Nature had given him genius, and to her he left it to furnish him with occasions of displaying it. If he affected anything it was vice—all his abilities and good qualities were born with him. Intrepid, he did not fear even reproach, and he either was incapable of fear or despised it. I do not believe that he had one black or loose object—it is pity that he was as inattentive to having a good one. He acted as the moment impelled him; but as his conception was just, and his soul void of malice or treachery, he meditated no ill, but might have advantaged himself and his country more had he acted with any foresight or any plan.

LOOSE PAPERS.

A Sketch of a New Method of Writing History.

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Mr. Pitt said, "I will make you the greatest King that ever reigned in England; you shall humble France and Spain, you shall destroy their navies, you shall conquer Canada, you shall be Sovereign of Bengal, you shall support the King of Prussia against France and two Empresses; the French shall be driven out of India, the trade and prosperity of America shall flourish beyond example, and the English flag shall be formidable to every quarter of the globe:"—

"Hiatus valde deflendus."

* * * * * *

His mother said, "You must be absolute." Lord Bute said, "Turn out Mr. Pitt and the Whigs, who have made England so glorious and prosperous; make me Prime Minister, and countenance the Jacobites and Tories; make peace with France and Spain, and restore them to a condition of supporting you, as they did Charles II. and James II.; sacrifice the King of Prussia, as James I. sacrificed his own daughter and son-in-law for peace—and you shall be as despotic as any monarch of the House of Stuart."

Mr. Fox said, "The King may make a footman Prime Minister if he pleases." The Bishops said, "The Duke of Newcastle has made us all Bishops, but Lord Bute can make us Archbishops; let us go to the latter's levée."

The Duke of Bedford said, "My grandfather was a fool and a rascal; I will go to France, and beg them to dictate a peace, instead of our dictating peace to them."

Count Villi said, "Give me a pension in Ireland, and I will buy peace for you."

The Members of both Houses said to themselves, "This peace will be as shameful as the Treaty of Utrecht."

Mr. Fox said, "Give them twenty-five thousand pounds, and they will change their note."

Both Houses said, "It is an excellent peace."

His mother said, "Now my son is King of England."

Sir Francis Dashwood said, "I am an old apple-woman, and I will lay a tax on Cider."

The Western Counties said, "It is a partial tax."

The City said, "We will go to St. James's, and petition that the tax may not be passed."

Lord Bute said, "Fifty thousand men will come to St. James's and tear me to pieces, and though I have prepared the epitaph for my tomb, I am frightened out of my

wits at the thought of death; I will say I have lost my stomach, and I will go to Harrowgate."

Mr. Wilkes said,—"The mother and Lord Bute! * * * * . There is a lie in the speech."

Churchill said, "The Scotch have always been traitors," &c. &c.

Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax said, "We will do whatever you bid us."

Mr. Wood and Carteret Webbe said, "We will do more than you bid us."

Lord Mansfield said, "I will strain every law."

Wilkes said, "I am not afraid." Lord Mansfield said, "I am."

"Wilkes has written a blasphemous and indecent poem," said Carteret Webbe. "Who told you so?" said the King. "Parson Kidgell told it Lord March, and he told Lord Bute and me," said Lord Sandwich, "and I have heard him repeat it." "Where?" said the King. "At our Club at the top of Covent Garden Theatre," said Lord Sandwich. "And so have I," said Lord Despencer, "at our Abbey of Medenham, where we used to practise all kinds of impiety and indecency."

"This will do," said the King. "I will betray and impeach my friend," said Lord Sandwich. "Do so," said the Scotch. "I will cant," said Lord Sandwich. "Do so," said Bishop Warburton. "I will protect Wilkes," said Lord Temple. "You will break with him, as you have done with every other friend, from interest, passion, or vanity," said all his family. "Lord Sandwich is a pious man," said the House of Commons, "and Wilkes an infidel not fit to sit amongst us."

Alexander Dun said, "I will murder Wilkes." "So will I," said Samuel Martin. "So will I," said Forbes.

"I will tax America," said Mr. Grenville. "You shall not," said America.

"There must be a Regency Bill," said the King. "Your mother shall have no share in it," said Mr. Grenville. "Who made you Minister?" said the King.

"You must disgrace your mother by Act of Parliament," said Lord Halifax and Lord Sandwich.

"You shall restore her," said the King. "I will," said Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sandwich.

"I will send for my uncle, the Duke of Cumberland," said the King, "and he shall fetch Lord Chatham." "I will not come," said Lord Chatham.

Said the Duke of Cumberland, "You must send for your old Ministers again."

"You shall abandon Lord Bute, and Mr. Mackenzie, and Lord Holland," said the old Ministers.

"He shall not name one of his own footmen," said Mr. Rigby.

"You shall hear a lecture of an hour long on all your faults and breaches of promise," said the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sandwich.

"I cannot bear such indignities," said the King. "I will send for my uncle, and he shall make a new Administration for me."

"You shall repeal the Stamp Act and the Cider Tax," said Lord Rockingham, "and act according to law, and for the good of this country."

"I will turn out Lord Rockingham and my new Ministers," said the King, "and will send for Lord Chatham."

"Renew your alliance with the King of Prussia," said Lord Chatham, "and put the Duke of Grafton at the head of the Treasury, and make Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer."

"Lord Chatham is incapable of business," said the Duke of Grafton.

"Then I will lay new taxes on America," said Charles Townshend.

"I will stand for Middlesex," said Wilkes. "We will abuse you," said the county. "He shall not sit," said the House of Commons. "You have no right to hinder him," said the law. "They have," said the lawyers.

"We will chose him again," said the county. "It will be to no purpose," said the courtiers.

"Colonel Luttrell shall stand," said Lord Bute. "We will not choose him," said the county. "We will say you did," said the House of Commons.

"Is a minority more numerous than a majority?" said the Opposition. "Not *in* the House of Commons, thank God," said the majority, "but we will say it is anywhere else."

"We will petition against a House of Commons, who can be bribed to contradict arithmetic," said counties and towns. "Do so," said Mr. Wedderburn, "and I will draw the Remonstrance."

"I will not dissolve a Parliament that has disgraced itself for my sake," said the * * * *.

"You are a corrupt and scandalous assembly," said Sir George Saville, "I thought so last night, and I think so this morning."

"We think so, too," said the assembly, by their silence.

"The House of Commons has acted illegally," said the Chancellor, Lord Camden.

"Give me the Great Seal," said the King.

"You shall be Chancellor," said the Duke of Grafton to Lord Mansfield. Lord Mansfield said, "I dare not."

"I will be Chancellor," said Norton. "Your character

is too bad," said everybody. "You are good enough to be our Speaker," said the House of Commons.

"You shall be Chancellor," said the King to Yorke. "I have vowed I would not," said Yorke. "You never shall be so if you will not now," said the King; "and I will make your younger son a Peer if you consent." "I will," said Yorke.

"How could you break your word?" said his brother. "I am distracted," said Yorke. * * * * "I will not give his son the Peerage," said the King.

"I cannot find a Chancellor," said the Duke of Grafton, "I must resign." "Do so," said Lord Gower, and Rigby, and Bradshawe.

"Odd man, odd man!" said the King. "Coming, Sir," said Lord North.

"Since we cannot have a sensible man for Chancellor, we must take a fool," said the King. "Your Majesty is very good," said Lord Bathurst.

CHARACTER OF LORD SHELBURNE.

His falsehood was so constant and notorious, that it was rather his profession than his instrument. It was like a fictitious violin, which is hung out of a music shop to indicate in what goods the tradesman deals; not to be of service, nor to be depended on for playing a true note. He was so well known that he could only deceive by speaking truth. His plausibility was less an artifice than a habit; and his smiles were so excited that, like the rattle of the snake, they warned before he had time to bite. Both his heart and his face were brave; he feared neither danger

nor detection. He was so fond of insincerity as if he had been the inventor, and practised it with as little caution as if he thought nobody else had discovered the secret.

With an unbounded ambition of governing mankind, he had never studied them. He had no receipt but indiscriminate flattery, which he addressed to all, without knowing how to adapt it to any particular person, for he neither understood the characters of men nor penetrated them. Hence his flatteries were so gross, that instead of captivating, they prompted laughter. So ignorant was he of mankind, that he did not know how absurd it was in a man of such glaring ambition to affect having none. He would talk of himself as void of all views, when there was no industry and intrigue of which he was not suspected. The folly of his professions was the only chance he had for not being thought a deep politician, for who could believe that such palpable duplicity was the offspring of anything but of want of sense? He not only had no principles, but was ready for any crime that suited his plans, which seemed drawn from histories of the worst ages—for he was rather a pedant in villany, than a politician who adapted himself to the times in which he lived. Thus a Catiline or a Borgia were his models in an age when half their wickedness would have suited his purpose better—for when refinements have taken place of horrid crimes, and the manners of men are rather corrupt than flagitious, excess of profligacy is more destructive to ambition than serviceable. He determined to be Prime Minister by any means, but forgot that, in a country where the faction has any weight, character is a necessary ingredient towards acquiring or preserving power. The King hated him, all the higher orders knew him, the people could have no favourable opinion of him. To combat hatred, suspicion

and at best indifference, he had no arms but a resolution of recommending himself to the King by unbounded flattery and servility, and the power and money of the Crown he trusted would maintain him against all other sinister impressions. But more was wanting than versatility to acquire confidence. He must re-establish the King's power as well as show a desire of it, and he must perform real services for the kingdom before he could gain its affections. If he attempted the former, he contradicted his own professions, and those of his late allies, who would have no mercy in his failures; and to hope to recover the affairs of the nation was a presumption that betrayed vanity, not consciousness of abilities. Lord North, with an unimpeached private character, agreeable to, if not possessing the confidence of, the King, and extremely popular with the greater part of the nation, had fallen by mere want of success, and by his own inactivity. The other enjoyed none of those supports, and was in nothing preferable to Lord North but in vigilance and industry. He might have succeeded where Lord North had miscarried by indolence; but Lord North had miscarried too much for diligence to retrieve—and if Lord Shelburne was equally unprosperous, he had none of Lord North's good qualities to procure the same indulgence. Thus having raised himself by want of character, he was sure of wanting character to break his fall.

He had offended and dreaded Lord Bute. He had treated Lord North with unpardonable contempt. He had wantonly on all occasions personally provoked Lord Mansfield. He had earlier broken with Rigby, and exasperated him lately. He had offended Charles Fox, Burke, and the Cavendishes to the highest degree; nor had he one friend of character but Lord Camden, for he heaped such

impudent gratifications on Dunning and Barré that they were as justly abhorred for receiving the wages of corruption as he for conferring them. To them he had newly added that most abandoned man the Lord Advocate, whom he might have for a champion while he retained his power, but could not trust a moment should it decline. If he reckoned on the Chancellor, he leant on an insolent associate, who perhaps wished himself in his place and loved nobody. Still it was likely that the King's countenance would draw most of these rays to the focus of the Court, and thence Lord Shelburne might for some time establish his preeminence—but as his own insincerity and want of judgment would raise him new enemies every day, it was most probable that his real enemies would seize with alacrity any moment of overturning him; and the facility with which the King had abandoned every servant made it more than probable that he would not be steadier to one who had been forced into his service, and whose zeal, however servile, His Majesty had reason to hope would not exceed that of most whom he might honour with a preference, or be obliged to prefer.

Duke of Richmond and Lord Rawdon. New Ministers would not banish the old.

July and *August.* Lord George to Lord North. Lord Shelburne made Lord Advocate Treasurer of the Navy, gave him his Scotch place for life, and let him keep Lord Advocate: he had sent for him up. The Advocate came, yet pretended to hesitate—yet but for one day. Lord Shelburne pretended he would resign if Advocate refused.

Charles Fox in love with Mrs. Robinson. Rigby goes to see Lord Shelburne, who makes great professions.

Georgia given up. Lord Rockingham.

Lord Temple made Lord Lieutenant.

Combined fleets at the mouth of the Channel, to protect their own expected trade and intercept ours, and to hinder our assisting Gibraltar. Their Western trade arrived safe: so did our Jamaica and leeward fleets, and then they went home. Dutch fleet sailed northward, but returned to Texel, and then Lord Howe sent part after the Dutch to the Baltic.

Dissensions thereon.

Vast preparations against Gibraltar. Count D'Artois and Duke of Bourbon.

Rodney lets the beaten French fleet escape, and go to New York. Mr. Fitzherbert sent to Paris.

Draper accused Murray. Court-martial. Nation took no part, nor of Sir Henry Clinton when he returned.

August 30*th*. News of Kempenfelt lost in Royal George.

Nov.—Violent pamphlet against Lord Shelburne, ironically called a *defence* of him. Supposed to be by Edmund Burke;[1] by others said to be by Sheridan. The Committee of the York Association had met in October to give an account of their proceedings, which had been done, and to resign their trust. The Association agreed to meet again at the end of December, probably to observe what Parliament would do. Wyvill sent an account of that meeting to most of the Common Council of London. One of them returned his letter with a severe answer and printed it in the papers. Lord Shelburne had had a meeting with Mr. Wyvill in summer, and made great professions to him; but it was said Wyvill did not trust him.

In August 1782, Lord North received in triumph at Manchester. People drew his coach.

[1] It was by Dennis O'Bryen.

Sept.—Sir James Lowther gives a 74-gun ship: price 30,000*l.*

10*th.* Admiral Millbank being returned from fetching the Baltic trade ships, Lord Howe at last sailed to the relief of Gibraltar, besieged by 28,000 men.

Strong report that four of the colonies had thrown off obedience to the Congress, displeased with the French.

Lord Howe had refused to sail unless he had Admiral Hood, which Keppel was forced to make a merit of consenting to.

30*th.* Account of the attack on Gibraltar on 13th, and the destruction of the floating batteries in nine hours, and the destruction of 1500 men.

Oct.—Resolutions of Congress against offers of independence.

22*nd.* Lord George Gordon's letter to Lord Shelburne on that subject.

Affairs in India better than was thought.

Ten Dutch ships refused to go to Brest.

28*th.* Account of Lord Howe having relieved Gibraltar, the French and Spanish fleets having been dispersed by a storm and four stranded.

Nov. 7*th.*—Captain Duncan and Conway arrived from Lord Howe, with news that the combined fleets had attacked Lord Howe in the evening, but retired. No ship taken on either side. Captain Fielding wounded in the arm, and 60 seamen killed on our side. Lord Howe coming home.

When Lord Rockingham died, Lord Shelburne went directly to Windsor. The Rockingham party had no meeting that night. The Duke of Richmond went to Mr. Cornwallis in the evening, and was pretty temperate. Mr. Cornwallis and I much for their submission to let Lord

Shelburne be Premier, as it would else seem to be quarrelling for places. They had reason enough to suspect him: Fox did strongly, as he had lately set up William Pitt against him, but he had joined in their public measures. It was wiser to wait and have some fault in him that they could allege to the public. He had yielded to independence of America, pretended to Duke of Richmond to be strong for change of the House of Commons, had supported their reforms, even of Excise officers voting, which not only lessened the influence of the Crown but obliged the Excise officers to be diligent. Duchess of Richmond warm against submitting to Lord Shelburne. King never sent to inquire after Lord Rockingham.

Lord Weymouth would not go to the House of Lords nor take his seat, though he took a place.

Lord Shelburne, with Mr. Conway, said the King called on him to make a new Administration. Professed good disposition; said had got over many difficulties with King for the new Ministers, as he got him to come into independence of America; but Fox and others suspected him. Conway owned others did, but he did not. Conway and Richmond for going on. Lord John, who loved to govern a small party and disliked his office, would not be called Governor. Lord Rockingham—nobody else. Charles Fox saw he could not be Minister and hoped to get the Whigs. Russia and Holland would fly off; perhaps America. Lord Shelburne, who had discovered his tricks, particularly by setting William Pitt against Fox, now suffered them. Barré, who probably knew him, grieved at Lord Rockingham's death. Lord Shelburne had brought a bill for * * * * * * * in Colonies. Conway's and Charles Fox's speech at word "America." It was given up, but Hartley went on with it, and Sir George Saville, till Conway told the

latter, King and Council for independence. Fox said—this bill without his knowledge. Fox and Rockingham, in council of nine, had been for immediately declaring America independent. Lord Shelburne against it, 4 and 4. Conway turned it by being against it. News of the Quebec Fleet taken: this made it imprudent for Keppel to go out now; as it was for Conway till peace was made, as he had answered for it.

Grenville had been sent to Paris by Charles Fox; another by Lord Shelburne. King giving up all but Ashburton and Montagu.

Lord Weymouth not taking his seat; Lord Gower's refusal of Premier, yet swayed by Chancellor to be for Lord Shelburne. Lord North rather for Fox. Fox's idleness and love for Mrs. Robinson.

THE MARRIAGE ACT NOT MADE BY THE LATE KING.

A NEW BALLAD.

To the tune of 'King John and the Abbot.'

"There was once a King of the Hanover race,
Who had more sense within than appear'd in his face;
And yet though his head-piece was not his best part,
It was excellent good, if compared with his heart.
Derry down.

"This Prince, like his grandpapa Charles, was devout,
And, like his great ancestor Jamey, was stout;
Like Jamey the Second, by mother and wife,
Two notable dames, he was led all his life.
Derry down.

"This King had a brother as wise as himself,
A chattering, gossiping, puppet-like elf,
Who had tutors so learned, and was brought up so well,
That he wrote fine love-letters—and almost could spell.
Derry down.

* * * * * * *

"The husband, a beautiful kind of a swain,
Who was fonder of honours than eager for gain,
Would have pulled in his horns, had his Majesty pleased,
With an earl's coronet his own brows to have eased.
Derry down.

"No, cried George, who, like Midas, had very long ears,
All my brothers make cuckolds, I will not make Peers;

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

Derry down.

"The Duke was restored to his brother's high favour,
And continued as usual his wanton behaviour;
For adultery at Court was not thought an unfitness,
As a twice-married maiden of honour can witness.
Derry down.

"But Hymen, indignant to see his laws broke,
Determined to bend the loose youth to his yoke;
So a votary true, a bright widow he chose,
And the pert little Prince was soon caught in the noose.
Derry down.

"But oh! all ye gods, who inspire ballad-singers,
Ye muses, with nine-times-ten ivory fingers,
I invoke ye to guide both my voice and my pen,
While I sing of the fury that seized King and Queen.
Derry down.

"King and Queen when they heard how th' undutiful whelp,
Had disgraced the great houses of Mecky and Guelp,
Swore and cried, curs'd and fainted, and calling for Bute,
Of your Luttrell-connexion, cried George, see the fruit.
Derry down.

"This Irish-alliance my projects all bilks,
I'd as lief he had married the daughter of Wilkes;
While to humour my mother and you I conspire,
I am out of the frying-pan into the fire.
Derry down.

"The slave looked aghast and had nothing to say,
Which historians agree was too often his way;
He never for difficult times had a fit heart,
So he called for his chair, and sought out Miss Vansittart.
Derry down.

"Then the Scotch were consulted, with Martyn and Dyson—
Martyn offered his pistol, the Scots were for poison;
But Mansfield, best prop of the Hanover line,
Thus connected the zeal of the Junto divine.
Derry down.

"Ye friends of the King, and ye foes of the nation,
This matter requires a deep consideration;
It is not enough to correct: politicians
From misfortunes know how to extract good conditions.
Derry down.

"A King, like a Sultan, should reign all alone,
No brothers, no cousins, be seen near the throne;
Pent in dungeons a few should be kept for the breed,
For it is not enough to teach 'em to read.
Derry down.

"From the Duke's breach of duty my act shall receive
The highest-flown doctrines of prerogative;
Plantagenets, Tudors, nay, Stuarts I'll quote,
And what law cannot prove shall be proved by a vote.
Derry down.

"To marry, unmarry, son, brother, or heir,
Has been always his right our good King shall declare,
Though as far from the truth, as the north from the south—
It is not the first lie we have put in his mouth.
Derry down.

"They may burn and be damn'd, but they never shall marry;
George the Third as despotic shall be as Eighth Harry;
He shall cut off the heads of his sons and his spouses,
For we'll have no more war between red and white roses.
Derry down.

"Not, my friends, that I hate, as you know, a Pretender,
But a Christian can ne'er be a good faith's defender:
The Church and the Bible are different things;
The last's for the mob, but the first is for Kings.
Derry down.

"Of the bishops I'm sure; they are pliable tools:
Of the twenty-six prelates full twenty are fools.
Not the Gospel, preferment is all they regard,
Or would Warburton now be an orthodox card!
Derry down.

"The judges shall say—or at least I'll say for 'em,
That it is the opinion of their learned quorum,
That whate'er has been law must always annoy,
And no time can prescribe, Sirs, against Droit le Roi.
Derry down.

"But should they ask time to consider and ponder,
And not, like the Bench, to our pleasure knock under,
In both Houses we'll swear they have said as we say,
For we're sure of ten yeas for one patriot nay.
Derry down.

"For myself, as I ever have done, I will keep
In the dark, for I love in a whole skin to sleep,
And since I would ne'er risk my neck for King Jamey,
Do ye think I'll be martyr'd for Brunswick?—no, d——n me!
Derry down."

1783.

JANUARY.

21*st*. The Parliament met again after the recess. As the account of the Preliminaries of Peace being signed at Paris was every moment expected, the Opposition lay by and would not say a word.

22*nd*. Bill brought in for ceding all control of England over Ireland. [*Vide* Debates.]

23*rd*. At last, in the evening, courier arrived with account of the Preliminaries being signed by France, Spain and America, but not with Holland, only a suspension of arms. Thus in one week the King gave up all control over Ireland, and the total sovereignty of North America, by grasping at despotism over which, he lost both America and Ireland! What a lesson to despotic ambition—if ambition would learn from example! Here was the House of Hanover stripped of such vast power and dominions by treading in the steps of the House of Stuart, to whose prejudice they had been called to the Crown! Lord Oxford told Lord Hertford that the King, speaking to him of his late Speech on opening of Session, in which he gave up America, asked him if he had not observed him lowering his voice when he came to that part of his speech. This showed he had not been insensible to the ignominious part Lord Shelburne had forced him to

act. It was still more foolish to mention it to Lord Oxford.

23*rd*. In the morning the Duke of Richmond declared to the King that, disapproving of Lord Shelburne's assumption of too much power in the negotiation, he would go no more to Council; but, as he had begun and could carry on great savings in the Ordnance, he would keep it if the King desired it, which he did desire.

24*th*. Lord Keppel resigned the Admiralty.

27*th*. The Preliminaries laid before both Houses, and ordered to be printed, after some opposition from Thomas Townshend, though Lord Shelburne had consented in the other House.

Same day was printed in the papers, a letter from the Duke of Richmond to the Sheriff of Sussex, to excuse his not attending, from illness, the meeting on Reform of Representation, in which his Grace attacked Mr. Wyvil, who had called the Duke's late idea, at a former meeting, of all persons having a right to vote at all elections, a vision; and had said, that only what was practicable should be asked.

28*th*. Lord Howe made First Lord of the Admiralty, and Sir Robert Harland, who was dying, and intended to resign, resigning, Lord Howe, to mark regard to Lord Keppel, recommended his friend, Captain Leveson Gower, as one of the Lords, in Harland's room.

29*th*. Report on trial of General Murray; of twenty-nine articles alleged by Draper, twenty-seven declared frivolous; for the other two, Murray to be reprimanded; but, Draper having written to Murray during the siege, that Murray's suspecting Draper of wanting the command was false and infamous, Court-martial, to prevent a duel, ordered Draper to make an apology to Murray, which

Draper did, because, as he said, they ordered him. Murray would not, just in the words they prescribed, and wrote to General Conway that he would rather resign his regiment, but as he should be undone, and had a wife and three children, and another coming, begged Conway to get her a pension of 300*l.* a year. Conway tried to soften him, and in the mean time he was put under arrest. Draper was mad, and Murray a wrong-headed man.

Mutiny at Portsmouth of the 77th regiment, who pleaded having been promissed dismission, and yet were now to be sent to the East Indies. They shot one man, wounded their Lieutenant-Colonel, and would have killed the Duke of Athol[1], and Murray, their Colonel, had they appeared. *Lord George Gordon* offered Lord Shelburne to go and pacify them. They were quieted.

31*st.* Lord Maitland moved in the House of Commons for proclamation of all under promises being disbanded on peace.

Lord Loughborough and Eden trying to unite Lord North and Fox; the Lord Advocate, Sir Grey Cooper, and Robinson, to unite him with Lord Shelburne.

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[1] John, the fourth Duke, whose features as an old man are so well known to the public in Landseer's picture, "Death of the Stag in Glen Tilt." He enjoyed the ducal title upwards of sixty years.—D.

FEBRUARY.

ACCOUNT that the 66th regiment, though embarked for the East Indies, had mutinied too; composed.

Canada merchants remonstrated with Lord Shelburne against the treaty respecting the fur trade. His foolish answer. ('London Chronicle,' Feb. 1.)

5*th*. Lord Carlisle resigned the place of Lord Steward, giving out that he disapproved the sacrifice of the American Loyalists. He had been Commissioner with Governor Johnston and W. Eden, both now violently in Opposition. But the true reasons were supposed to be, that Lord Carlisle had wished to go Ambassador to Paris, whither Lord Caermarthen was named; and that Eden had wrought on Carlisle, who might also wish to get back to Charles Fox, as the extreme unpopularity of Lord Shelburne made it probable that he would not be able long to keep his power, the Preliminaries becoming every day more disliked. Lord Carlisle had quitted Ireland abruptly on the change of the Ministry; had been made Lord Steward by Charles Fox, leaving his secretary, Eden, in the lurch. On Fox's resignation immediately after, Lord Carlisle deserted him, pretending to owe the stick to his father-in-law, Lord Gower, yet now was perhaps persuaded by Charles Fox and Eden to resign as a signal that Lord Shelburne was falling. Shelburne's insolence and folly advanced his fall daily. He consulted nobody but W. Pitt, and flattered the Duke of Richmond, neglected Lord Camden, Duke of Grafton, Conway, and everybody else, trusting to maintain himself entirely by the King. He had neither treated

directly with Lord North, nor with Charles Fox; and they, either hoping he would, or waiting to see the peace *concluded*, had lain quiet, and given no marks of displeasure; yet, if Shelburne thus got his peace secured, the long delay of the ratification of the Preliminaries had given time to all sorts of opponents to cry down the articles; and the sacrifice of the Loyalists was made the chief handle. Lord Mansfield was openly an enemy. Lord Loughborough and Eden warmly endeavoured to unite Lord North and Fox; Robinson and Sir Grey Cooper, to join Lord North and Lord Shelburne; while the Duke of Richmond wished Shelburne and Fox to unite.

New Order of St. Patrick instituted in Ireland.

8*th.* Ratification of Preliminaries with France arrived, and soon after that, of Spain.

12*th.* The peace growing very unpopular, Lord Shelburne became alarmed, and began to treat with the two opposing parties. First, with Charles Fox, through Lord Keppel, who owned to Conway he did not wish it to succeed; nor did it, for, Fox insisting on the Treasury for the Duke of Portland, Lord Shelburne (who certainly did not mean to sacrifice himself in order to save himself) said, the King insisted on *his* keeping it. He then treated with Lord North, and acquainted the Duke of Grafton, who objected strongly, and said he should not like to sit in Council with Lord North and that party. Shelburne said, Oh! it was not meant Lord North should have influence in the Council, but would the Duke object to that party having a few places? The Duke said he must consider it, and would not give positive assent.[1] This

[1] Lord Shelburne had begun to sound Charles Fox, and that faction, by Duke of Richmond and Lord Keppel; but finding that they insisted on the Treasury for the Duke of Portland, he sent Mr. W. Pitt in form to Charles Fox, in order to have it to say that they had refused on account of places.

treaty was negociated by the Lord Advocate, but Lord North was irresolute, and it did not succeed; yet, even

13*th*, While it was pending, Lord Shelburne foolishly made the Duke of Rutland (a weak young man) not only Lord Steward, in the room of Lord Carlisle, but made him of the Cabinet Council; a most unusual honour for a Lord Steward, but filling up one of the best posts, with which he might have trafficked with the Opposition. All his measures were rash, and undigested, and unconnected.

15*th*. Indecent motion of Lord Maitland and Lord Parker for greater reward to General Elliot than a pension of 1500*l*. a year and a red riband; rejected by a great majority.

Motion by Sheridan and Charles Fox on Trincomale distressing to Administration; put Pitt into a passion.

17*th*, Being appointed for discussion of the Preliminaries in both Houses, General Conway objected in the Cabinet to any words of approbation being inserted in the intended address; but was overruled by the majority. However, on the 18*th*, at a meeting of the chief Members of the Commons, the Lord Advocate prevailed to have no applauding epithets in the Address.

Charles Fox, on rejecting Lord Shelburne's offers through Pitt, acquainted Lord North, who had also refused them, and Lord North and Charles Fox instantly leagued, though, as Charles Fox declared in the House on the 17th, no farther than to censure the Preliminaries.

In the Lords, Lords Pembroke and Caermarthen moved the Address. An Amendment was proposed by Lord Carlisle similar to that in the Commons (and very artful and temperate, as it engaged to confirm the peace), but threatened to consider the Preliminaries. Lord Dudley, Lord Townshend very warmly (though Lord Shelburne

had been earnest to serve him), Lord Keppel, and Lord Stormont,[2] in a very long speech, attacked the Preliminaries. The Duke of Richmond expressed his dissatisfaction with them, but declared he would not vote. Lord Sackville, and then Lord Loughborough, very ably and long opposed. Lord Shelburne defended himself well, and the Chancellor handled Lord Loughborough very roughly. Lord Grantley pretended he had intended to vote against the Preliminaries, but that he had been convinced by Lord Shelburne. Lord Gower spoke faintly against, though inclined to be for, them. His brother-in-law, the Duke of Bridgewater, whose estate he expected, and who hated Lord Shelburne, had insisted on Lord Gower and his son, Lord Trentham, voting against the Preliminaries. Lady Gower had endeavoured to bias her husband the other way, and did make her own brother, Keith Stewart, her husband's son-in-law, Mr. Macdonald, and Lord Gower's nephew, Macdonald, vote for the Preliminaries. In fact, many Scots were for Lord Shelburne, and most connections had been so broken and divided by the late changes, that scarce one, or even family, remained united.[3] The Lord Advocate and Andrew Stuart, a most subtle able man, who had obtained Shelburne's protection for his bother in India, kept many Scots to him, and their hatred to Fox others. In the House of Commons, some of the stanchest friends of Fox and the Cavendishes left them because they had joined Lord North; and some of Lord North's friends deserted him because he had united with Fox.

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[2] It had been given out that Lord Mansfield would speak against the Preliminaries; but either from timidity or to set off Lord Stormont, what he would have said he did not.

[3] Lord Grantly spoke for the peace. His eldest son spoke, but went away: his youngest son spoke against it.

Lord Howe spoke unintelligibly for Shelburne, but told too intelligibly, as did Jarvis in the Commons, that the peace was necessary, as our Fleets were in a wretched decayed condition. The Duke of Grafton, though highly dissatisfied with Shelburne, handsomely defended him. The House sat till between three and four in the morning (unusually late for them), when the Address was carried by only 69 to 55. Of thirteen Bishops present, only six or seven voted for the Minister.[4]

The event was much more unfavourable still in the other House, which sat till past seven the next morning, when Lord John Cavendish's amendment was carried against Lord Shelburne by 224 to 208. Lord North spoke with great temper, though professing not to infringe the speech. Charles Fox admirably, beginning with saying that the Ministers seemed to have neglected every thing, to study, recollect, and reproach him with all his actions, sayings, and most careless words. The Lord Advocate behaved in the most abandoned manner, and abused his late friend, Lord North, grossly.[5] He was justly reproved by Fox and Sheridan, and having said he would act with any man who agreed with him in principles, they asked him if he had agreed with Shelburne on Representation?—No. On Reformation?—No. On East India?—No. Or only by Shelburne's coming over to his opinion? Burke was excellent on the Loyalists sent to

[4] Neither Lord Camden nor Lord Ashburton spoke. The former either waited to answer Lord Mansfield, or, being much dissatisfied with Lord Shelburne, was silent. He was much displeased at the adoption of the Lord Advocate, and at not being consulted nor acquainted with any measures, and at Lord Shelburne's intention of lowering considerably the places of the Tellers, and refusing to tell him even how much.

[5] One expression of the Advocate was remembered. He said the new amour of Lord North to Charles Fox had produced nothing but that abortive puerility, the motion. He boasted that on their next motion he should retort Fox's sarcasms; but, probably from reflecting on the latter's success, he did not speak on the following Friday.

East Florida, now ceded to Spain; they had loved kingly power, now they would have enough of it: they would feel Castilian power. Charles Fox[6] said, Lord Shelburne had outrun all the demands of the Associations in so hard a manner, that it looked as if he meant to make men sick of Reformation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who spoke late and languidly, but haughtily, and to Sheridan grossly on his theatric management, was answered excellently, coolly, civilly, but severely, by Sheridan, who applied to and fixed on him the name of the Angry Boy. His relation, T. Pitt, who moved the Address ably, protested he had always been against using force to America (yet, he had been the confidant of all Mr. Grenville's violence on the Stamp Act). T. Pitt had certainly been jealous of and offended at the preference given to his young cousin, W. Pitt, who was a younger son of the younger branch, and had meant to accept nothing; but, being connected with W. Pitt and Lord Temple, wishing for a Peerage, and perhaps to save his borough of Old Sarum by softening W. Pitt on the intended alteration of Representation, against which he had lately written a pamphlet, he probably had entered with more warmth lately into Shelburne's measures. Lee, the late Attorney-General, was very brutal, commending Lord North (to draw an opposite picture of Shelburne), saying the former had never broken his word, had never lied to the public, nor made a treacherous peace, and was so amiable in private life that his character had made him preserve his power so long. Rigby, who, to keep off the demand of his balances, and, by the mediation of the Lord Advocate and Mrs. Howe, had made his peace with Shelburne, spoke

[6] Charles Fox reflected on his uncle, the Duke of Richmond.

warmly for him. Conway did not speak; he had fairly apprised W. Pitt, that if anything was said on Trincomale, he should, as tenderly as he could, declare he had been against restoring it, and would have preferred continuing the war. Indeed, his silence was fairly interpreted as dislike of the peace, though he would not desert Shelburne.

Jenkinson[7] voted for him; but, though he was supposed to hold out the flag of the King's inclination, it had not then its effect, for the Court was beaten; and *thus*, twice in one twelvemonth, the same House of Commons overturned two Administrations — a strong argument against touching the mode of Representation. Did it want correction, if a Parliament chosen by the Court, *and reckoned most corrupt and abandoned, tore two Ministers from the King in one year?* The measure, indeed, was rather violent, and might tempt France to break off the peace, either doubting whether new Ministers might maintain it, or expecting confusion.

It was now to be seen whether Lord Shelburne would venture or attempt to stand with the House of Commons against him, and with so small a majority in the Lords. He was both timid and rash,[8] and might hazard from despair. Pitt and the Lord Advocate both reckoned the game desperate, and it soon grew more so. It was evident that Fox and Lord North agreed, and that the Cabinet was much divided. The Duke of Richmond fluctuated, Conway was not pleased, and on the

[7] Lord Clarendon, though his second son had been lately made an extra Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, voted against the peace, and being a favourite, made it suspected that the King meant to betray Lord Shelburne.

[8] The Chancellor was reported to have said to me in the House of Lords during the debate that if Lord Shelburne was successful that day he intended to dissolve the Parliament. He himself had gone farther not long before, and had dropped to Conway that if he was unsuccessful on the peace, he would dissolve the Parliament. Conway remonstrated against the phrenzy of such a measure.

20*th*. The Duke of Grafton resigned the Privy Seal. He had long been dissatisfied; the refusal of the mitre of Salisbury for Bishop Hinchliffe had disobliged him; he had absented himself from Council, and Shelburne had acquainted him with nothing, particularly not with the promotion of the Duke of Rutland, and with the very extraordinary introduction of him into the Cabinet. This last was the grievance he pleaded to the King, and to Lord Shelburne, who treated his design of resigning with the utmost indifference.[9] Lord Shelburne slightly mentioned to Conway, in the window of the public room at St. James's, that he had some thoughts of standing in spite of the House of Commons, but not as asking advice; nor had he acquainted him or Lord Camden with his intention of raising the Duke of Rutland so high. Conway treated his thought of retaining his place as most impudent.

21*st*. Lord John Cavendish produced five new motions, one of which was a direct condemnation of the peace Of this indecency he and his friends were told severely. On the former day, they had declared they could not applaud the peace till they had examined it, which they would do; and *now* censured it in the lump, without calling for a single paper or examining a single article. Such a gross indecorum was, perhaps, occasioned by the desire of saving Lord North, their new ally (as both he and they owned he was become), from any retrospect, the neglect of which they could not justify, if they went into articles against Lord Shelburne. Thus, by this junction, Lord North got

[9] He told the Duke he could not show him more attention than he had done; and on the Duke's saying he should then resign, Lord Shelburne replied, "My Lord, I cannot deprecate that." The Duke had only intended to quit the Cabinet, but on this treatment told the King he would resign his place.

himself whitewashed by his bitterest enemies. Mr. Powis, Sir Cecil Wray, and others were very severe on the new junction, which Mr. Fox had declared in Parliament he never would make; they[1] both quitted Fox and that party with whom they had acted, and Mr. Powis said he had till then thought Lord John's character the most perfect in England, with many other high compliments, which Lord John, with much insolence, desired him to take back. He also told T. Townshend with equal haughtiness that he must take the fate attending his change of system. On Lord North the most cutting reproaches were heaped, particularly by T. Pitt, who compared him to a man at Bury, who, having caused his brother-in-law to be assassinated, though not killed, and visiting him, had torn off his plaisters. 'So Lord North had ruined us by the war, and now would tear off the plaister of peace. Lord North' betrayed the utmost anguish at those taunts. The young Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke with surprising eloquence and matter for two hours and a half; but, quoting the unanimous Address of the Commons on the peace, was laughed at. At past three in the morning, Lord John's motions were carried by 207 to 190.

It was now evident that Lord Shelburne could not maintain his ground. None of the supplies for the year were voted. At last, on the

23*rd*, he called a Cabinet Council, and in the evening a larger assembly of his adherents, to both which meetings he declared his resolution of resigning his post, as on the

24*th*, he did.

That very day (without having received any invitation from the King, but looking on themselves as sure of the

[1] Sir Cecil Wray only for that day.

Administration) the Duke of Portland, designed by the united factions as the ostensible Minister, went to the Duke of Richmond and intreated him to stay in his place and reunite with his old friends, who would have all the power, as Lord North asked but two places in the Cabinet. The Duke of Richmond thanked him, but said he could not see his own name standing to so many protests against Lord North, and consent to act with him. He had blamed his friends for retiring in the summer, and hoped they would not blame him for retiring, as he intended to acquaint the King he should do.

The same day Mr. Duncombe presenting the petition from Yorkshire for a new mode of Representation, signed by 10,000 freeholders, with the produces of the freeholds of each, and saying that he should *reluctantly support* any Administration of which Lord North should be part, Mr. Edmund Burke had the amazing affrontery, profligacy and folly to say, that he was glad to find that Mr. Duncombe (if he would even reluctantly support Lord North) *had abandoned the flagitious principle of regarding measures not men.* The preference of men to measures was in truth the *flagitious* principle of Lord John Cavendish. *He had avowed it on the death of Lord Rockingham*, had on that ground set up the Duke of Portland, and persuaded Charles Fox to resign, and now joined Lord North to support that family pride[2] which made him imagine that the House of Cavendish was always to name the Minister. His brother, Lord George, a much better man, but governed by Lord John, owned to me at this very time that he liked an aris-

[2] From the time that the King, at the beginning of his reign, had turned out the late Duke of Devonshire in the roughest and haughtiest manner, Lord John, I believe, had never forgiven it. This ought to be a lesson to Princes. Lord John was now punishing the King, twenty years afterwards, for that affront.

tocracy and thought it right that great families with great connections should govern. I replied I thought it the worst system of all.

Lord Camden told me that from the moment Lord Shelburne became Minister, he had set himself to disgust and root all the Whigs out of the Cabinet—as him (Camden), Grafton, Keppel, Conway, and Richmond. Thence, said Lord Camden, it was plain what promises Shelburne had made to the King. The day after the first majority, Lord Camden told me, the King consulted the Cabinet what he should do. Lord Camden said he had told him he was a party man, and advised him to stick to the Whigs.

It now appeared evidently that the King was unwilling to part with Lord Shelburne; at least, that he disliked the junction of Lord North with Fox, or was averse to receiving the latter and his party; or, if his indifference for all men made him partial to none, at least, he could not be insensible to the force put upon him now a second time in one year, and to the little or no option left him in naming his own Ministers. This repugnance was no doubt fomented by Lord Shelburne. The insolence of the victorious allies soon added fuel to that secret flame. They had so wantonly marked out the victims they intended to make, particularly of two capital ones, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow and the Lord Advocate, that they and their friends soon concerted measures to baffle the conquerors. Those two lawyers, with Lord Weymouth, Lord Gower, and Rigby, who had all united with or were grown inclined to Shelburne, communicated their discontents to the King, who received their overtures with alacrity from the Lord Advocate, and actually wrote to Lord Weymouth to desire his support against his new tyrants. His Majesty wished Lord Gower to accept the Treasury, but he had not courage. In

that distress the Lord Advocate, one of the boldest of men, proposed to the King to send for the very young Chancellor of the Exchequer William Pitt, not yet past twenty-three. The offer was no doubt dazzling, and so far worth accepting, as *to obtain the Chariot for a day* was glorious at his age—and to one so ambitious, it was placing him at the head of a party, a rank which he must always preserve, in or out of place. The young man had the discretion, however, to ask time to consider. The Advocate, in the mean time, on the 25*th*, moved to adjourn the House of Commons to the 28th. Lord Nugent (not in the secret) opposed the adjournment on the urgency of Irish affairs, but on a division in a very thin House the Lord Advocate prevailed by 49 to 37.

27*th*. Mr. W. Pitt[3] excused himself to the King from undertaking the charge of Prime Minister. In fact, it was in every light wise—in a personal one it showed moderation, and that he was not intoxicated by such splendid fortune; nor, were his experience adequate, could he have maintained the post at that moment. No supplies were voted, nor would be granted by a hostile majority. A victorious majority, too, of a popular assembly, if thwarted, grow violent, and the disappointment of those who have expected to share the spoils of their enemies impels their party on all excesses. Nor could Pitt himself appear but as the substitute of Lord Shelburne, against whom even impeachments might be voted. On the contrary, by giving a career to the hopes of the triumphant was the best way to hurt them; most men, not connected with the new and strange junction, could but be scandalized at it, and were. Com-

[3] He certainly consented for a few hours, but soon retracted. Some thought Lord Shelburne dissuaded him from jealousy; but there might be another reason, the King made the offer very drily and ungraciously.

passion for the insult to the King would weigh with others. All who should be dismissed would become more envenomed enemies; and all the partizans of Fox who should not be provided for, or of Lord North who should not be restored to the places thus lost, would not be less incensed. The probable rapacity of the victors would furnish matter for abuse; the character of Fox would be an inexhaustible fund of objections; and the yet unstained one of Pitt, with a large following of young men who worshipped him, would soon contribute to raise him to a formidable height. He might contemplate too, as certain devotees, the Yorkshire Association in particular, and those of Westminster, and others. Pitt had been steady in countenancing (in[4] general) their Petition for a new mode of Representation, which Lord North had more loudly reprobated. Lord Shelburne had made Wyvil, their ostensible tribune, expect (?) his support, and would now undoubtedly give it. Mr. Mason (the real instigator) did not love Lord John Cavendish, and hated Burke, and had offered incense to Pitt. Here was ample foundation for Opposition—and Shelburne and Pitt were not likely to be blind to such future advantages and to such opportunities of revenge; while the new Coalition could neither promise themselves sincerity in the King nor attachment in the people.

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[4] He had lately repeated his intention of moving for an alteration, but in very guarded and restricted terms; and it was said intended to propose very moderate reform. If he goes into Opposition he may, perhaps, enlarge that mode.

MARCH.

It was declared that the King had created two new English Barons—Lord Rawdon, and Thomas Townshend[1] the Secretary of State. The reason of exalting the latter was evident; he had detached himself entirely from Fox and the Cavendishes; had addicted himself to Lord Shelburne, and had always been chiefly connected with the late Lord Chatham and his family; and it was expected that the present Earl would marry his second daughter. How Lord Rawdon came to obtain the honour was more uncertain; he was nephew of Lord Huntingdon, from whom he was likely to inherit the Barony of Hastings, which made another Barony less necessary to him. Lord Huntingdon had been very ill treated by the King, and had loudly expressed his resentment; but perhaps had made court to Shelburne—yet it was said that the King had offered the new Barony of his own accord—perhaps to show dislike to the Americans, who had been near executing Lord Rawdon—perhaps, because of his challenging the Duke of Richmond, whom, though the King had employed, he certainly had not forgiven, and at this very time had coloured on the Duke, but dropping a hint that he might yet retain his post in the Ordnance. To add two Peers to that House was not unwise in Lord Shelburne, especially Townshend,

[1] Baron Rawdon was subsequently Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General of India, whose memoirs have recently been published, and edited by his third daughter, Selina. He died in 1826. John Thomas Townshend was created Baron, and, six years later, Viscount, Sydney. He died A.D. 1800, aged sixty-seven.—D.

a speaker. The approaching Ministry was not likely to be strong in speakers, which Shelburne's and Pitt's faction would be; Shelburne himself, the Chancellor Thurlow who was to be dismissed, Lord Camden in the same predicament; the Lords Ashburton and Grantley, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, Lord Sandwich, if not restored; and perhaps the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton, who though discontent with Shelburne, more likely to be in Opposition than good humour, would be an overmatch for the silent Duke of Portland, Lord Derby and Carlisle, and even for the Lords Mansfield and Loughborough and the pompous Stormont.

It gave still more offence when it was immediately known that, previous to his dismission, Lord Shelburne had obtained and been wantonly squandering pensions on his associates. The Chancellor was to have 2800*l.* a year if he lost the Seals; Lord Grantham 2000*l.*, and Sir Joseph Yorke 1500*l.*, or 2000*l.*, with some lesser pensions. Many circumstances rendered the two former scandalous. The Duke of Manchester enjoyed a patent place in the Custom-House for two lives, bestowed by Charles II. on his ancestor in lieu of a vast debt due from the Crown. On the Duke's being appointed Lord Chamberlain in the preceding year, his Grace solicited to have the life of one of his sons added to the patent, which the King granting, the Duke surrendered his old patent to have a new one made out; but the Chancellor refused to set the great Seal to the new patent, alleging an obsolete law of Henry V., which restricted the Crown from granting patents for life, but which had never been put in execution from the reign of James I. This injustice inflaming the Duke, gave rise to a bill, afterwards moved by Mr. W. Pitt, for abrogating all the patent places in the Custom-House, indemnifying the patentees, and for changing the whole system of the direc-

tion of the customs, a total subversion violently opposed by Mr. Burke. So gross a contradiction in the Chancellor was equal to the late effrontery of Colonel Barré and Lord Ashburton. Lord Grantham's case was little less indecent. He already enjoyed a pension of 3000*l.* a year for life, was lately married to one of the, probably, greatest fortunes in England, and received this reward after having been Secretary of State not nine months. With this rapacity he was bitterly reproached in the House of Commons on the

6*th*, when Mr. Powis moving to address the King to give away no more pensions before the 5th of April, when he would be restrained by Burke's late Reforming Bill from giving any pension larger than 300*l.* per annum, many reflections were cast on this waste, and on Lord Shelburne, a pretended great reformer; when it was said that there had been at least one honest man, Lord Grantham, who would not sell himself—till promised this pension. Lord Shelburne was truly highly culpable: on taking the Treasury after Lord Rockingham's death, he had affected great rigour and retrenchment—some said, proposing to strike so many and so much from salaries and pensions as woud compose a revenue of an hundred thousand pounds a year for the Prince of Wales, which would both save to the King a defalcation of so much of his revenue, and gain the Prince of Wales, to whose favour he aspired, too. He set one Gilbert, a Member of Parliament and formerly steward to Lord Gower, and a great dabbler in the laws about the poor,[2] at the head of that inquest, who executed it not only with severity but brutality—but Lord Shelburne, with his usual

[2] It was said that Gilbert had formerly made laws for the poor, and now was making poor for the laws. [The poor-rates at this time amounted to less than a quarter over two millions. They are now about seven millions annually. —D.]

versatility, dealed out as many or more pensions than he retrenched.

He retrenched some of the Housekeepers of the Royal Houses, and raised the salary of another. I could quote many such instances, but they are needless. The following epigram was made on one of those occasions:—

"Ye fools, for economy clamour no more;
For each twopence you save you 'll be made to pay four:
Nor is State-scavenger so inexpert
As not to make new on removing old dirt.
No catcher of vermin destroys the whole race:
Gilbert took away twenty to get one good place;
For what 's sin in a sinner in saints is but grace.
Reformation 's a trade that enriches the cunning,
From Luther to Barré, from Calvin to Dunning."

Lord Shelburne, with good nature, restored parts of so many pensions said to be retrenched, that he saved little or nothing, was guilty of idle profusion, and made enemies of all he cashiered, and no friends of those he restored partially. How many old servants who had obtained small places or slender pensions were cashiered or reduced, to compose the four pensions of Barré, Lord Ashburton, the Chancellor, and Lord Grantham! The parsimony and the extravagance were set against each other, and the clamour of the sufferers contributed prodigiously to that mass of unpopularity which so soon overturned Lord Shelburne.

The King continued to closet the Lord Advocate and Lord Gower, and the few he trusted, of whom Jenkinson was the chief, trying every method to avoid submitting to take the Duke of Portland and Fox. His counsellors were as inveterate as his Majesty, but had less boldness—finding which, he told the Lord Advocate that sooner than yield, he would go to Hanover, and had even prevailed on the Queen to consent. He had meditated such abdication at

the time of the riots for Wilkes; he had carried that intention farther the last year, having held the Royal yacht in readiness a fortnight for that purpose. If the Queen had given in to the project, it was probably from judging that it is wiser to humour a person in a passion than contradict. It gives credit, and time to soothe. This, perhaps, the Queen did, for one evening, early in the month, the King sent for Lord Guilford, Treasurer to the Queen and Lord North's father, to try by his intervention to separate Lord North from Fox, and it was given out that it would break the old man's heart that he could not succeed. On the following evening, the King sent for Lord North himself, and after long and most earnest endeavours to persuade him to break his coalition with Fox, and retake the first post himself, both which Lord North positively refused to do, recommending the Duke of Portland, the King told him in wrath, *that he would not put the Treasury into the hands of the head of a faction.* This latter phrase Lord North indecently repeated to his new allies, as proof of his fidelity—but it was new ingratitude, after receiving such numerous favours; for besides the office of Prime Minister, he had received the Garter, the place of Warden of the Cinque Ports, a patent place for his son, Bushy Park for his wife, a pension of 4000*l.* a year on his late resignation, and some said, a grant of part of the Savoy—though that has not yet been verified—his father was Treasurer to the Queen, and his brother has the rich Bishopric of Winchester. But if Lord North's conduct was not grateful, it was wise. He had been taunted, baited in the extreme, both by Shelburne and Fox; as they had quarrelled, he could not be revenged of both at once. He therefore, by allying with the latter, overturned the former; and by that alliance received an ablution from Fox, which seemed

to make all his invectives appear the result of faction and ambition. By waiving the first place, he would secure lucrative posts for his family and friends, without the odium of heaping them on himself—the Duke of Portland or Fox would be charged with giving them to purchase his assistance. Nor was Fox's a good life—North on his death might retain his old power.

But if North acted like an artful politician, he had not left his secret to his Master. Sending for North instead of the Duke of Portland was repeating the stale artifice of the preceding year, when he employed Shelburne to negotiate with Lord Rockingham; and perhaps he was weak enough to expect the same success, though the artifice was known, that of sowing jealousy; but it had just the contrary effect. It was not North's, as it had been Shelburne's, place to supplant the Duke of Portland—on the contrary, the overtures made to North gave him an opportunity of vaunting his fidelity to his new allies—thus, instead of disuniting them, the King, by this silly manœuvre, cemented their union. The next morning he sent again for Lord North, but repenting before his arrival, dismissed him immediately, saying he had not yet resolved what he would do.

But the secret lay deeper than even his general aversion to the Cavendish faction. His son, the Prince of Wales, had of late thrown himself into the arms of Charles Fox, and this in the most indecent and undisguised manner. Fox lodged in St. James's Street, and as soon as he rose, which was very late, had a levée of his followers, and of the members of the Gaming Club, at Brookes's, all his disciples. His bristly black person, and shagged breast quite open, and rarely purified by any ablutions, was wrapped in a foul linen night-gown, and his bushy hair

dishevelled. In these cynic weeds, and with epicurean good humour, did he dictate his politics—and in this school did the heir of the Crown attend his lessons and imbibe them. Fox's followers, to whom he had never enjoined Pythagorean silence, were strangely licentious in their conversation about the King. At Brookes's they proposed wagers on the duration of his reign; and if they moderated their irreverent jests in the presence of the Prince, it was not extraordinary that the orgies at Brookes's might be reported to have passed at Fox's levées, or that the King should suspect that the same disloyal topics should be handled in the morning that he knew had been the themes of each preceding evening. The Prince not only espoused the cause of the Coalition, but was not at all guarded in his expressions; he was even reported to have said aloud in the Drawing-room, "that his father had not yet agreed to the plan of the Coalition, but, by God, he should be made to agree to it."

This anguish to a mind that had from the Prince's childhood anticipated jealousy, rendered the already conceived antipathy to Fox a rankling ulcer. How far his suspicions went I do not know; but while he kept all Government at a stand, and was searching for any succedaneum, it transpired that he had consulted the Chancellor and Lord Ashburton on the still nearer question of his son. One or both whispered the consultation, if not the purport. At first it was supposed to have been on the Prince's debts, but as they did not appear considerable, it was believed that the Royal parent had demanded of the two lawyers what redress he could have against a man who alienated from him the affection of his son? Rumour added, that the blunt and surly Chancellor had replied, "that he would have no peace till his son and Fox were secured in the Tower."

I do not pretend to give credit to this violence, nor am certain that even the interrogatory was proposed; yet the extreme vehemence with which Fox and his associates, even with the concurrence of his allies,[3] proscribed the Chancellor at this crisis, seems to imply some foundation in the story. Fox had lived upon amicable terms with the Chancellor, who had certainly supported Shelburne in the faintest, loosest manner. On the contrary, Lord North's friends had till this minute affectedly asserted that Lord North would insist on the Chancellor's retaining the Seals; and as he now abandoned him abruptly, they were puzzled to excuse North or themselves, and strengthened the report of the offence. In truth the Chancellor had never loved, but rather despised North, and if the latter protected him for a short time, I should suspect that it was more to deprecate his resentment than from zeal to serve him.

Though the King had failed both in attempting to form an Administration himself, or to detach Lord North from his new friends, he would still not yield to the latter; and though there was in reality no Government, for Lord Shelburne had actually resigned, and the other Ministers only transacted the ordinary business without opening any new matter, though the Houses continued to sit, yet his Majesty went to Windsor, leaving everything in suspense; and though he returned to town at the end of the week and appointed a Drawing-room, it was put off, and he was, or it was given out that he was, ill. In the mean time, the peace was not finished: the Dutch had not acceded to the terms recommended by France; it was not certain that

[3] The Prince of Wales said aloud at supper, at the Duchess of Cumberland's, that he hoped that damned fellow, the Chancellor, would be turned out. If this is combined with the proscription of Fox, it seems to confirm the report of the Chancellor having expressed himself roughly on their connection.

the latter had begun to disband their army and navy, and we had; and great disorders were stirring, especially at Portsmouth, where the sailors remained very mutinous, and would not sail to India without being paid their arrears, which there was not money enough in the Treasury to discharge; and though Lord Howe himself went more than once to Portsmouth, it was with the utmost difficulty they could be restrained. Some militia regiments too had been mutinous and would not give up their clothes, which the War Office was forced to allow them to keep. But the most pressing urgency was the approaching expiration of the Mutiny Bill, which, however, was prolonged for a month without a negative. Such an alarming situation made many apprehend that France would profit by our confusions, and break the peace.[4] That she did not was demonstration that peace was as necessary to her as to us. All this time many Addresses were presented to the King to thank him for the peace, *against which all clamour ceased* the moment Lord Shelburne had resigned; nor did it at all appear that the majority in the House of Commons had pleased their constituents by condemning the peace.

The suspense still continued; and it was evident to thinking men that whichever side had most temper would get the better. Fox was aware of that, and said not a word in Parliament, and restrained his friends. Had they made any violent motion, as perhaps the King expected and hoped, it was very likely that the Tories would have returned to him and resented the force that was laid on his prerogative. Of one hundred and sixty votes that Lord North had governed, he was not likely to retain half.

[4] This was, perhaps, what the King hoped. One day, during the suspense, Sir George Yonge, Secretary-at-War, naming the disbanding of the troops, the King cried out eagerly, "Disband! why, the peace is not made yet!"

The House of Lords was still less disposed to obey the Coalition. If Lord North demanded many places for his friends, the Cavendish faction would have refused them, fearing his predominated. If he obtained but few, and those for his family and particular friends, the number who had fallen with him, and should not be indemnified, would become his enemies; and to satisfy them all was impossible. Burke's reform had struck off many places; no more pensions could be given; and to satisfy Fox's dependents, all indigent, North's connections, the friends of the Cavendishes, and the rapacity of Burke and his family, there would be wanting more places than existed even before his retrenchment.

12*th*. When the inter-ministerium had lasted seventeen days, the King sent again for Lord North, and told him he should form an Administration according to the plan he had proposed; but, as he should not like to change again, he desired it might be made broad enough. Lord North proposed to his Majesty to see the Duke of Portland himself, but that the King refused, and told Lord North to desire the Duke to send him his arrangement *in writing*. This was as positively refused by the Duke, who sent word that if his Majesty condescended to employ him, it would be necessary for him to see his Majesty.

Some days more were spent on messages of this kind, yet with partial discussions, either between the King and his future Ministers, or amongst themselves. The King was peremptory against dismissing the Chancellor; Lord North as positive for Lord Stormont being Secretary of State, who would take nothing else. The King's friends complained that his Majesty was not allowed to make one of his own Cabinet Council; and he himself once, and but once, spoke to General Conway on that subject, and com-

plained that when he summoned them to settle his Administration, they replied they were not agreed amongst themselves.

Coke of Norfolk, attached to the Cavendishes, gave notice that if no Administration were appointed by the 22*nd* he would move to know the reason. This was probably to terrify the King. Coke had the promise of a peerage from Lord Rockingham. On the 17*th* a great meeting of that party was held at Lord Fitzwilliam's, whom the Cavendishes were nursing up as a young Octavius, to succeed his uncle Rockingham. The Duke of Portland presided, declared nothing was settled, but hoped things were in a good way.

19*th*. Lord Howe had for some time pressed the remaining Ministers to hold a Cabinet on the tumults at Portsmouth. They had told him they had no authority: however, at last a few consented to assemble on the 19*th*—the Chancellor, Mr. Pitt, two Secretaries of State, Lord Howe, General Conway, and, I think, Lord Ashburton—and took measures. Before they parted they recommended to the Chancellor to advise the King to settle Administration with the Duke of Portland.

At first Lord North, and all his friends for him, declared he would take no place himself, and would ask but for six of his friends. Then he tried to get three or four into the Cabinet, and now stooped, after being First Minister so long, to take the subordinate place of Secretary of State. This proved him, what I had long thought him, a great hypocrite, and very ambitious. Why else did he unite with his bitter enemy Fox, who had opposed both his principles and measures? Why offer to take the Seals, but to have access to the King, and be ready to supplant Fox. Accordingly, on the

20*th*, the Chancellor, not to hinder an arrangement, declared to the King he would not keep the Seals. Yet was the settlement not advanced; for now Lord North, who had at last, for accommodation, as he pretended, consented to take the Seals of one Secretary instead of Lord Stormont, with whom Charles Fox had declared he could *not* nor would not act, so much did their principles differ (yet they were to come in together! Hopeful union!), acquainted the Coalition, on the

21*st*, that he had persuaded Lord Stormont to be President. At this they exclaimed, and said he had done it of himself without consulting them; and though the Duke of Portland had been admitted to the King in the morning (Lord North, to force the King to comply, declaring he was tired and would carry no more messages), and had been asked for his list, which he still would not give in writing, the party were so angry at Lord North, that at eight in the evening they despatched the Duke of Portland to the King to say that all negotiation was at an end. However, they still consulted, and Fox's necessitous friends being very clamorous, and Lord North declaring that, though he would support them, he would take no part, they determined to say that Lord North had not violated the agreement, though they had said he had; and in two hours after sending the Duke of Portland to the King to declare off, they at ten that night begged Lord North to acquaint the King that they would recommence it. The Duke, two hours before, on acquainting the King that Lord North would not take a part with them, had offered to make an arrangement himself for his Majesty. The King replied coldly, "I thank your Grace, I will not give you that trouble." *On the contrary, he sent secretly for W. Pitt next day.*

One much connected with Lord North, telling me of this coolness between him and Fox, added, "Lord North at first thought Mr. Fox was to support him; now he finds he is to support Mr. Fox, and therefore he will have done with him." Lord North had even on the 20th, in the evening, wrote circular letters to call a meeting of his friends and acquaint them with his reasons for breaking off with Fox.

22*nd*. Mr. Coke made his intended motion, but the Coalition begged him to waive it, declaring they believed that his Majesty would soon appoint an Administration; and he did consent to drop his motion.

23*rd*. The Duke of Portland was again with the King, and carried a list of their intended Cabinet; but the King would not look at it, demanding to see their whole list, which the Duke would not produce, but continued to press the Cabinet list on him, saying, "I implore your Majesty to look at it;" but the King held his hands behind him, and would not take it. I believe it was the next day that the Duke wrote to the King, and, to palliate the refusal of the whole list, assured him they did not intend to remove anybody about his person or in the household—whatever day it was, the King, on the

23*rd*, wrote both to the Duke and Lord North a few words, to declare all negotiation with them was at an end, and he sent for Mr. Pitt; and, on the

24*th*, it was universally believed that he had undertaken the Administration, till the House of Commons meeting, Mr. Coke rose, and declaring that, as he understood the negotiation was at an end, he would repeat his motion unless Mr. Pitt would declare that he had accepted the first place. Mr. Pitt rose and declared he was *not* Minister, nor knew

of any arrangement formed. A most remarkable debate followed, the chief particulars of which were, that Mr. Fox, accusing the King's secret friends of breaking off the negotiation, which at first seemed levelled at the Chancellor, but afterwards, looking fully at Jenkinson, the latter rose with great emotion, and did in effect own that he was the secret Minister, though he protested he had never gone to the King but when sent for; and he appealed to Lord North whether he had ever found obstructions from him. Of that Lord North fully acquitted him; and then took occasion to protest that he and his friend had had no difference for above twenty-four hours. There however had for some hours been a total rupture, as is said in the preceding page. The Address was carried with very few dissenting voices.

Thus three capital mistakes had been made. First by the King: had he admitted the Coalition at first, while their union was so extremely unpopular, I believe they would not have been able to hold the Administration for three months. The Tories would have returned to the King; Lord North, by not being able to provide for his numerous adherents, would have lost and enraged them. The bad characters of Fox and his friends, and the great emoluments he would have bestowed on them, would have given infinite offence, and Lord North and Lord Stormont, the latter of whom had been excluded by Fox from the Secretary's Seals, would not have agreed. The King's delays, and the impatience of mankind for an Administration; the want of it on many accounts, as for money for the East India Company, for disbanding the army and navy, the unfinished state of the peace, the refusal of Holland to accede to it without indemnification, &c.,—these things alarmed

and offended many; the runners of the Coalition threw the whole blame on the King, and as he had in reality no Ministers, nobody took any pains to defend him.

The next error was Jenkinson's, in owning his secret correspondence with the King.

The last was the irresolution of Pitt, of which the King complained. Had he, on that day, declared he was Minister it would have prevented the Address; it would have drawn many to the King in hopes of preferment, and though he might not have been able to form an Administration, he would have gained time to the King; but to have partly yielded twice without avowing it, was only confessing the King's weakness and his own; and warned all lookers-out to apply to the Coalition. It was that weakness that determined the House of Commons, and their determination decided Pitt not to accept. He told the Lord Advocate the next day that he found the House favoured the Coalition, but it was he himself and the King who had driven the House to that party.

During this inter-ministerium died Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury. The King, lest his future Ministers should intercept his choice, immediately offered it to his most favoured of the bench, Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, lately preceptor to the Prince. Hurd declining it, the Primacy was offered, probably out of decency, to Lowth, Bishop of London, but he had been dying for some time, and also excused himself. The mitre was then conferred on Moore, Bishop of Bangor, at the request, it was given out, of the Duke of Marlborough, whose tutor he had been; but it was probably obtained, to please that great Peer, by Lord Shelburne, who had entirely gained the Duke.

On the Address being voted on the Monday, the King

immediately went to Windsor that evening to hunt the next day—in all likelihood to carry away the Prince of Wales from Fox; and, in fact, as the King had never hunted till the Prince of Wales grew a man, it was generally thought that the King employed the chase to take the Prince, as often as he could, from other diversions and connections. He returned on the

25*th*, received the Address, and gave a gracious answer to it, though no explicit one. At night the Lord Mayor sent to General Conway for guards, as many handbills had been dispersed, *inviting "the friends of Liberty to meet in St. George's Fields on the 27th, when something would be proposed that would amaze all Europe,"* and they ended with, "*Damn the King!*" General Conway ordered a piquet guard to be ready; but nobody obeyed the summons, nor did any persons assemble. At first some meeting was apprehended from disbanded sailors, of whom great numbers were come to London; but as no more was heard of it, it seemed the production of some madman; perhaps of that most mischievous of all madmen, Lord George Gordon, who was daily labouring to excite some commotion, had been instrumental in the meeting at Portsmouth, and who, two days after those handbills, took up the cause of some seamen who demanded their discharge from Lord Howe.

26*th*. General Conway being with the King on business of the Army, the King spoke to him a little on the present strange situation; though not so much as he wished, to give him an opening to advise the King to take the Coalition—the more honest and handsome in him, as he expected they intended to lay him aside, not one of them having talked to him of their politics, though the Duke of Portland and the Cavendishes kept up intimacy with him; but they had left

him out of their proposed cabinet. Burke, too, had of late paid great court to him, though hostile and cold towards him when he would not resign with them; and Burke had lately declared in the House of Commons that the Army never had had so useful and indefatigable a Commander-in-chief, and he believed never would have. The King said to him, "It was a strange debate on Monday!" and then complained that the Duke of Portland had refused to show him the list of their arrangements. Conway replied, "Yes, Sir, of the great posts I thought they had." "No," said the King, "none but the Cabinet—not the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but I can tell them, Lord Temple will not stay with them—and you—what have you done to them?" said the King, artfully. "I know nothing," said Conway; "nobody talks to me, nor I to any of them." "Why, they have left you out of the Cabinet," said the King. "I suppose they design to have no Commander-in-chief." "And what will the Duke of Richmond do?" continued the King. Conway said he did not know; and the King changed the discourse. Lord Shelburne resigned but that morning.

The same day his Majesty's answer to the Address was reported to the House; yet Lord Surrey declared he would renew it on the following Monday, if no Administration were formed by that time. Lord North rose to deprecate pressing the King, who, he said, had made so gracious an answer that he did not doubt but he would soon fulfil it.

This apology for the King was remarkable, and, concurring with another circumstance, was very artful. It might have been expected that Jenkinson's late indiscreet avowal would have thrown the Cavendishes and their adherents into great violences. Here was the secret influence (connected with Lord Bute) avowed, against which they

had always clamoured; I am therefore inclined to believe that its not being taken up was owing to Lord North's intervention and advice. Fox indeed had conducted himself with great caution and temper; yet, as he kept no measures about the Prince, I rather believe Lord North kept his new friends quiet. It was not his interest to have the favour of Jenkinson fathomed, which had subsisted during all his Administration. He might too let the King know that the silence on Jenkinson was owing to his advice; and his flattery on the King's answer now was industriously recommending himself while the Duke of Portland was offending. All North's conduct was so artful and double that I am persuaded he hopes to be Minister again. He had set out in the Coalition with declaring he would take nothing himself; pretended to stickle for the Chancellor, till outweighed by Fox; to please Lord Mansfield, recommended Lord Stormont for Secretary of State; when rejected by Fox, pressed Stormont to take the place of President, without the knowledge of Fox; and then, as if to facilitate that, offered to take the Secretary's Seals himself, which would give him constant access to the King. There has been so much duplicity in his whole life, and especially of late, always protesting a wish of retirement, yet never retiring till forced out, and now swallowing every indignity and enmity to return to power, that I sometimes suspect he may be in private intelligence with the King, or at least may have given such hints of interposing to prevent greater heats, as may have encouraged the King to persist in his repeated affronts to the other part of the Coalition. In many of the debates Lord North openly declared his principles of defending the Prerogative, while Fox, to keep up his interest in Westminster, was forced to profess the same adherence to *his*, the contrary principles. This

alone was sufficient to sway the King to North's side, and Lord Stormont was a proper second.

27*th*. It was suddenly declared that there was to be no levée, and that the King would not go to the oratorio.

29*th*. The King sent again for Lord North at night, and pressed him to be Minister, but he refused.

30*th*. The King was ill, and fell away much with vexation.

When the King saw Lord North on the 29th he again pressed him to be Minister, but Lord North refused, and said he could not, but that the Duke of Portland was ready to be so. "Then," said the King, "I wish your Lordship good night."

The county of Suffolk addressed the King on the Peace, but begged him not to take Ministers again (Lord North) who had lost the confidence of the people.

31*st*. Mr. W. Pitt resigned. Lord Surrey proposed two more motions of inquiry,—on who prevented an Administration, and to desire one; but the first was universally disapproved, and the Tories discouraging the second, both were dropped; yet Charles Fox, attacking Jenkinson warmly, his fear probably at last fixed the King's resolution, for on

APRIL.

1*st*, HE sent once more for Lord North, and said, "Well, so the Duke of Portland is firm!" "Yes, Sir." "Well then, if you will do the business, I will take him." "I have told your Majesty I cannot." "Well then, tell him he may come and kiss my hand to-morrow." Accordingly on the

2*nd*, the Duke of Portland was made First Lord of the Treasury; Lord John Cavendish, again, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord North and Charles Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Stormont, Lord President; Lord Carlisle, Privy Seal; and Lord Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty.

The King received the Duke of Portland and Charles Fox graciously; to Lord Carlisle, who had now changed sides three times in one year, and whose resignation had been the signal for blowing up Lord Shelburne, he did not speak; and Lord North he received with the utmost coldness, and continued to treat with visible aversion.

Thus from the 24th of February, when Lord Shelburne declared he resigned, to the 2nd of April, the nation had been without any head of Administration.

The Duke of Portland, on quitting the King, went directly to the Duke of Richmond, and begged him to remain Master of the Ordnance. The latter desired time to consider of it, but expressed dislike of acting with Lord North; yet rather inclined to stay in place.

Thence Portland went to General Conway, and desired

him to remain at the head of the army; made many excuses for his being left out of the Cabinet, in which his Grace said he himself had wished he should remain. Conway told him frankly he was glad not to be of it; he did not love politics, had always declared he was no party-man, and was willing to stick to the military line. Next day he acquainted the King with the proposal, with which he said he should not close unless it had his Majesty's approbation. The King said he did approve it.

3*rd*. The new Ministers (pressed, as they said, for places, and by Lord North, who wished to restore Lord Townshend to the Ordnance; but, I rather think, hoping to fix the Duke of Richmond's irresolution, in which they acted unwisely, as, had they let him alone, I am persuaded he would have gone on with them) sent for the Duke's answer. He was offended, immediately threw up the Ordnance, and they were disappointed and vexed; for Richmond was sure to give them much trouble in the House of Lords, and the Duke of Portland was no match for him. The Ordnance was restored to Lord Townshend.

Fox, in his first audience of the King, vindicated himself on the aspersions thrown on him as instigating the Prince of Wales to disobedience; protested he had never said a word to the Prince which he should not have been glad to have his Majesty hear; he had promised nothing to the Prince but to get his family settled. "Oh," said the King, "that will be all in due time." Fox hinted plainly at the Chancellor as author of those aspersions, which the King shuffled off; but this proved that that had been the true cause of the Chancellor's disgrace; and he not resigning, and it being reported that he would not, Fox, by the King's leave, sent to him for the great Seal.

Yet, the impression remained, and the King was said to call this *his son's Ministry*. When the Duke of Richmond resigned, the King was so pleased with it that he seemed quite reconciled to the Duke, and laughed at Lord North to him.

The first offence given by the new Ministers was the Act of Lord Keppel. When he had been arraigned by Sir Hugh Palliser, one of his most zealous and spirited defenders had been Captain John Leveson Gower, half-brother of Earl Gower, and a brave and excellent officer. When Keppel had lately resigned the Admiralty, Lord Howe, his successor, to compliment Keppel, as he said, named Leveson a Lord of the Admiralty. Leveson acquainted Keppel, and asked his approbation. Keppel, though pretending to be in friendship with Lord Howe, was offended, and answered coldly to Leveson that he must judge for himself. Leveson accepted; but, the moment Lord Howe was removed and Keppel reinstated, he dismissed Leveson, though with much ill-timed flattery, urging that Sir John Lindsay must be a Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Mansfield's nephew), and promising Leveson a command at sea—a new offence, as the peace was now near conclusion. This ingratitude made signal noise; and had Leveson been wanting to Keppel, which is very questionable, nothing could excuse such want of gratitude to so essential a friend.

As Mr. Burke's bill had struck off many employments, as some of the two last Administrations remained in place, as the new Ministers had promised the King not to turn out any about his person, they were much hampered to find offices to satisfy their friends, especially as Lord North by no means adhered to his first professed moderation, pleading, *I suppose*, to his new allies, that as his

faction was the strongest of all, he should lose them if he abandoned his friends who had fallen with him; and, indeed, as will appear, he did *not* neglect them. Still, it was believed that, as there was nothing else to give, a very large number of peerages must be given in payment. These the King expected would be asked, and had complained to Conway that they would not disclose to him before they came in, no more than some of the candidates for some of the first offices. They had pleaded that men did not like to be named before sure of the offices; and as some of Charles Fox's partizans were most dissolute characters, they probably apprehended that the King would plead those bad characters as reasons for rejecting their terms. However, they were much in the wrong not to make all their demands at first. They had once before experienced the King's pliancy in distress and his subsequent insincerity. In 1766, he granted all Lord Rockingham asked; but, as soon as that Administration was settled, they could not make him remove one man for whose disgrace they had not stipulated at first. I do suspect (*April 12th*) that the King will not grant half the peerages they will demand; he has given a symptom already.

Among Lord North's terms was a Dukedom for Lord Hertford; and here I suspect Lord North of no less double-dealing. Lord Hertford had always declared he belonged only to the King—not to Lord North or any Minister; yet, in the first week this Dukedom was asked for him. The King, it is true, had last year sacrificed Lord Hertford gaily, and even without a civil regret. Lord Hertford, having found no favour from his Majesty, had recurred to Lord North; but that was no reason for Lord North to be so officious to serve him so early. The

King peremptorily refused, and said he would not make a Duke to accommodate an arrangement of Administration, but would give him back the Chamberlain's staff. As the Duke of Manchester had been offered, and accepted, the Embassy to Paris, I cannot but suspect that Lord North had but faintly pressed the Dukedom, and had suggested the other expedient, that his relation, Colonel Keene,[1] might be restored to his place of Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, from which he had been unprecedentedly removed by the Duke of Manchester. Lord Hertford took his staff and restored Colonel Keene.

4*th*. Burke was made Paymaster; Charles Townshend, Treasurer of the Navy; Lord Surrey, Fred. Montagu, and Sir Grey Cooper, Lords of the Treasury; Eden, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; Lord Duncannon, Admiral Pigot (of the old set), John Townshend, Sir John Lindsay, Colonel Keene, and Mr. Joliffe, Lords of the Admiralty; the latter in the room of Lord Apsley, son of Earl Bathurst, who had been recommended by Lord North, but declined, being much acquainted with Mr. W. Pitt.

7*th*. Charles Fox was re-chosen for Westminster; there was some hissing, but no opposition; nor was there any to Lord John Cavendish even at York.

15*th*. On the bill for ceding Jurisdiction to Ireland, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Thurlow showed that they intend opposition. They pressed the Duke of Portland hardly to say what his plan was for Ireland, or whether he had one, though in fact the Bill in question had been the act of Lord Shelburne's Administration. The Duke, though decent, bore hard, and the late Chancellor rudely,

[1] Colonel Keene married Miss Legge, sister of Lord Dartmouth, whose mother had remarried Lord Guilford, Lord North's father. Mrs. Keene was always treated by Lord North as a favourite sister.

between whom and Lord Loughborough very warm words passed. Thurlow made a ridiculous panegyric on Lord Temple, as if he was designed by that party for Minister, the King having said that he had never seen so irresolute a young man as Mr. W. Pitt. The Duke of Portland defended himself modestly, but was not likely to be able to stand such coarse attacks.

16*th.* Lord John Cavendish opened the loan, which he had been obliged to accept, though a very bad one, from want of time. Mr. Pitt attacked it in a very long speech, but so superficially that Charles Fox told him how ignorant he was, and how much to blame for its badness by his neglect.

Towards the end of the month, Lord Northington was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The new Ministers had wished the Duke of Devonshire or Lord Fitzwilliam to accept it, but neither would. They then offered it to Lord Althorpe, but he also declined it. In this distress they fixed on Lord Northington, a man very unequal to the task. He was not a weak man, yet had never been noticed for sense: but in point of interest, connections, or wealth, nobody was less distinguished, nor could he afford the expense that would be necessary after the ostentatious profusions of the very opulent Lord Temple, who, though reckoned parsimonious, had given proofs of his ambition by his liberality. Lord Northington was stately in his manner, the only indication he had given of thinking himself qualified for a Minister: in business he had never been tried. Mr. Fox gave him for Secretary Mr. Windham, a Norfolk gentleman of good fortune, of most fair character, in his principles much disposed to Republicanism, and reckoned to have good parts, but so ignorant of the world, that if it was evidence of his virtue, it was

no proof of his sense, nor do I think he had a considerable share.

At the end of this month and the beginning of the next, Burke ran into the wildest intemperance in his speeches. On the bill for a loan to the East India Company, he ranted outrageously and most indecently against Governor Hastings, which drew on him severe reprimands from Governor Johnston and in the public prints; and, in May, he was no less extravagant in his own defence. Powel, the confidant and creature of the first Lord Holland, and one Bembridge, both officers of the Pay Office, had been largely deficient in their balances, and were under prosecution. Colonel Barré, the late Paymaster, had dismissed them. Burke had not only restored them, but had not even communicated their restoration to his associate Ministers, who first learnt it by complaints made in the House of Commons, where Martin and Sir Edward Astley termed it an insult to the public. Burke flamed at those words in so frantic a manner, that Fox and Sheridan were forced to hold him down, and both laboured to palliate his conduct, though so difficult to be excused. In fact for the last two winters so intemperate had been Burke's behaviour, that many thought his intellects disordered.

MAY.

1*st.* Lord Shelburne and the late Chancellor attacked Lord John Cavendish's loan, and the latter complained that Lord Stormont had told him it would not be debated till the 5th, yet the Ministers now were pressing to hurry it through without delay. Both pretended to disapprove Opposition from personal motives—a falsehood more suited to Lord Shelburne's insincerity than to Lord Thurlow's brutal frankness. The Duke of Portland urged the absolute emptiness of the Treasury, where there was not a guinea. It was at last agreed that the bill should be hurried through all the stages but the last, which should be debated on the 5th.

The 2nd Regiment of Guards, called the Scotch, or the Coldstream, had been near mutinying, 400 demanding their discharge. It was not impossible but Lord George Gordon had been instilling mischief. General Conway, by prudence and severe injunctions, pacified them. Lord George had lately betrayed in print a long-passed conversation between him and Lord Petre, who had endeavoured to obtain mitigation of Lord George's hostilities to the Catholics, but in which Lord Petre had been guilty of no impropriety or indiscretion. Thus the incendiary wretch rather hurt himself by thus warning men to shun his converse, when he was capable of divulging the matter however innocent.

7th. The long expected day when the alteration of the mode of Representation was to be attempted. The West-

minster Association had lately assumed a menacing tone, and had voted that they would not be content under their full demand. A silly vapour, as no one meeting could have any right to dictate to the whole Legislature and kingdom, and would imply nothing but armed resentment, which they had neither strength nor courage to employ. There were but fourteen counties in which any association had been formed, and of those very few, or perhaps not half, comprised anything like a majority of the county. Mr. William Pitt, in a very long, guarded, and fluctuating speech, made the motion. It produced, as had been foreseen, variety of opinions for different modes; was resolutely opposed by Lord North, was supported by no strength of solid argument, and acquired two new champions, who made themselves completely ridiculous, were both adequately ridiculed in the House, and afterwards by the public. These were the Lord Advocate Dundas, who the last year had warmly declared against any alteration; but having lost his place of Treasurer of the Navy on the late change, pretended to be converted by Mr. Pitt's speech, though he himself seemed not convinced by his own arguments. The other was Mr. Thomas Pitt, who, the last year, after a faint self-denial on his own borough of Old Sarum, had owned he trusted that private property would not be violated, and had since published a pamphlet against any alteration. He now, in the most affected and hypocritic manner, offered to give up his borough, which he could have no power of doing. The House divided at near three in the morning, when the motion was quashed by 293 to 149—a defeat so considerable, that the pert Committee at Westminster were struck dumb—and, for a week, Lord Shelburne, for his last vain-glorious harangue on himself,—Lord Thurlow, for his blundering calcula-

tions, and the Lord Advocate and Mr. Thomas Pitt, for their unprincipled conversions, amused the town, and the Associations were entirely forgotten.

Lord Sandwich, who had threatened the new Ministry with the number of votes at his command, was made Ranger of the Parks, in the room of Lord Orford; and his son, Hinchinbrook, got a place likewise. It was not very creditable to tumble from First Lord of the Admiralty to be a Ranger—not more so for Mr. Fox to countenance him—yet as decent as for him to have joined Lord North! But thus were all parties so jumbled and so prostituted, that no shadow of principles remained in any party; nor could any man say which faction was Whig or Tory. The Crown was humbled and disgraced—the people were sold; a coalition of potent chiefs had seized power, yet could not be called the Aristocracy, for the Peers were divided too. Lord North had much credit in the House of Commons; Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, of different factions, had much sway there too, and with the people. Lord Shelburne, Lord Temple, and Lord Thurlow were considerable in the other House, the first by readiness of speaking, the last by abilities, the second by his wealth. The Duke of Portland and Lord John Cavendish were powerful by their connections with the nobility. Thus no set of men could be classed to any denomination. Consequently new struggles must give new and separate distinctions, and some time probably will pass before either of the three constituent parts of the Legislature will preponderate eminently. The King, it is likely, will soon attempt to get rid of his present Ministers, and perhaps will not better his condition—for those to whom he will lean have no popularity. Lord Shelburne is despised, and will be hated the more he is active. Lord Thurlow is morose and igno-

rant of the world, and unpliant. The Duke of Richmond not beloved; the Lord Advocate decried by excess of prostitution; Jenkinson's want of judgment has exposed him to all manner of jealousy. Lord Temple and Mr. William have most chance of success from their extreme ambition and industry—but the first has many disgusting qualities, as pride, obstinacy and want of truth, with natural propensity to avarice. Mr. Pitt has betrayed irresolution; and presuming too much on such very premature success, has discovered that his judgment is by no means so premature as his eloquence. Yet his attention to character, and future experience, is more likely to set him at the head of this country than any man, though his abilities are infinitely inferior to Mr. Fox's, who, the longer he remains in power, will reconcile mankind to him, and acquire their admiration and attachment; for besides his superiority of parts, he has as much quickness of common sense as some men have of wit. He sees to the bottom of everything, and views it in its true light as rapidly as they skim surfaces and descry resemblances or allusions. His good humour is as constitutional as his common sense, and both are clear of affectation. Mr. Pitt, like his father, is more facetious. Application has given him as much as nature, but his natural parts would not have carried him far without that aid. All his attention is consecrated to his ambition or love of fame. It appears even in his temperance and care of his health. Mr. Fox, when not in office, thinks of nothing but his pleasures; nor of business but at the moment he is doing it in the House of Commons. Void of art or design, if Nature had not made him the most powerful reasoner of the age, he would never have distinguished himself. He never stooped to any of the manœuvres of a politician. Had not Pitt so

early aspired to be his rival, Fox would have cherished Pitt as his friend and disciple. Fox was charmed with his outset and loved him; Pitt, with a boy's arrogance, intoxicated with success, pronounced presumptuously, "Mr. Fox has never yet been answered." When he forced Fox to answer *him*, it was with such facility of superiority, that Pitt had better have remembered that neither Thurlow nor Dundas, nor both together, could defeat Fox.

Pitt still was a phenomenon when at all able to enter the mêlée with such men as Fox, Thurlow, Dundas, and Lord Loughborough, all men of first-rate abilities; but how perfectly ridiculous was it, when that vain-glorious talker, Lord Shelburne, imagined himself capable of shuffling and making subservient to his views all these, and other such able men, as Lord North, the Duke of Richmond, General Conway, and Burke. Phaeton's presumption was not greater, nor his fall scarce more rapid. With a character most decried, with no address, but a boundless resolution of flattery, lying, betraying and corrupting, this silly man persuaded himself he could divide, reconcile, or affront all men at his pleasure. Believing that profuse promises to the King of carrying the Prerogative to the proudest height would assure him steady and full support, he rioted in attempting everything at once that nothing but the most delicate art and length of time could reduce towards an approach to practicability—nor had he sooner laid his design—(of plan it does not deserve the name)—than he thought he had brought it to perfection, and that nothing remained but mere cajoleries to maintain his power. He shook off his few real adherents, offended or flattered his associates as any little momentary view prompted, precipitated his measures before his schemes were digested, and, like the frantic Tribune, Nicolo Rienzi, seemed to think

that the trappings of his post were the buttresses of his power.

It were wasting words to detail the extravagant and daily instances of his fulsome flatteries and falsehoods; men paid court to him at last but to collect tales of his promises, professions, compliments and boasts. His adulation and insincerity were so much a joke, that he would have been torn to pieces by the indignation of mankind, if it had not been sufficient to hoot him out of his post by laughing at his absurdities. Nor did the universal voice of ridicule, nor did his fall, that was the rapid consequence, discover him to himself. His rhodomontade speech on his own popularity, when universally exploded, showed how little he was sensible of his own opprobrium: nor were his hyperboles on himself surprising, when no man that approached him during his transient reign received less bombast incense than his own self-love had hoarded for itself.

If such excess of folly could be heightened, it was. He had outraged and contributed to drive Lord North from his power; he had stolen the succession from Lord Rockingham, and he had trampled on Fox; yet, while he dealt bribes liberally, flattered indiscriminately, promised profusely, and above all things prided himself on his art, he took not the smallest step to reconcile either of the powerful factions that he had provoked and insulted. He neglected his own friends, affronted those that had adhered to him when Fox and the Cavendishes broke with him, and though he had so very recently concurred in tearing a well-planted Minister from the Crown (Lord North), he was so blind as to suppose that his subservience to the Crown would balance all the other factions. If he flattered himself that Lord North and Fox were irreconcile-

able, he knew little of mankind. Nothing is more true than that *men are always most enraged at those that have offended them last*; nor is it less true, that when three men hate each other reciprocally, the two who have lost power will be most angry with him who has deprived them of it; nor was it possible for Lord Shelburne to prevent such a junction but by gaining either the one or the other of his adversaries. Whether he could have succeeded must remain uncertain. Not to have tried leaves his folly indisputable. The moment Lord North and Fox united, Shelburne's fall was inevitable, nor was it delayed a moment.

To the nation, amidst its losses and disgraces, many advantages have accrued from the late struggle of parties, and even from those misfortunes. Had the American war been prosperous, I have no doubt but the power of the Crown would have swelled to most dangerous heights. Its miscarriage has compensated to the country by the diminution of the Crown's influence. It even is deprived, *at present*, of the choice of its Ministers. Could the King have preserved his power he would not have consented to peace; nor, had Lord Shelburne had any support but the King, would he have combated the King's aversion to peace. His obtaining the King's acquiescence implies what indemnification he must have promised. The badness of the peace, though preferable to the ruinous continuance of the war, contributed to Lord Shelburne's ruin. The friends that the King abandoned on Lord North's fall destroyed the trust that servile men had put in the King, and the various manœuvres and intrigues of Shelburne and his antagonists have divided the Scots: Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough took a different side from the Lord Advocate. The King's resistance of the Coalition of North

and Fox produced the foolish but salutary avowal of Jenkinson that there is a secret influence; and should Fox and North prove bad Ministers, which I think very unlikely, Lord Thurlow, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, the Lord Advocate, and even Shelburne himself will not be timid or tacit opponents; and when there are such enmities and animosities, the people are sure of being courted. It is a happier state for a country to have the people umpires rather than opponents. When the People are reduced to resist the encroachments of power their rage is both blind and transient, and they either repent or are quelled. When the Crown and Nobility contend, or contending factions, both endeavour to conciliate the favour, not to provoke the passions, of the people; and though the ultimate end of the contentions of the great is to oppress the people, many advantages are conferred on the latter to purchase their support.

26*th*. Mr. Powell, of the Pay-office, cut his throat. He had been a confidential officer of Henry Lord Holland, and his executor, and had made a vast fortune—it was supposed 300,000*l*. Last year the Commissioners of accounts had discovered that he had taken a false oath and concealed a deficiency of 70,000*l*. Colonel Barré had dismissed him and one Bembridge, of the same office. On Burke's succeeding Barré on the late change, he had restored both Powell and Bembridge, though they were to be prosecuted, and Powell even for perjury. This indecent re-establishment of two men under such circumstances was severely censured in the House of Commons, and was defended in a most frantic manner by Mr. Burke, who on two different days poured forth rhapsodies of eloquence, wit, enthusiasm, and indecency; urging that from excess of tenderness and compassion to the two delinquents, who protested their in-

nocence, and were in agonies on the accusation, and had begged to be left to their own justification, he had replaced them, and though blamed on earth, should be glorified by the angels in heaven for his humanity. Many were persuaded by his transports, and a majority supported his act, which he had not communicated to his best friends and fellow Ministers. Still the example was so offensive, that even the Ministers were forced to abandon and let them resign. Powell, unable to bear the shame, destroyed himself; but on the evidence of Burke, Rigby, his late principal, and others, the Coroner's Inquest pronounced him to have been insane.

Lord John Cavendish opened the taxes, and they proved popular beyond example. Lord Mahon, a wild young man connected with Pitt, opposed them, and fell severely on Lord North, who turned him completely into ridicule. Pitt supported him in one of his best speeches, in which his language was thought equal to his father's, his reasoning superior, and his spirit greater than he had yet exerted—but injudiciously treating Charles Fox as flimsy and flippant, the latter showed how much more justly those epithets belonged to himself.

JUNE.

THE Opposition endeavoured to raise a great clamour against the new tax on Receipts, and some interested persons did procure meetings and petitions in the City and other places; but it did not spread as they hoped, and had no effect in the House of Commons, where it was voted without a division. Mr. Pitt even acted candour and spoke for it, as he said it was too late in the year to find any tax in the room of it. In general it was much approved. Sheridan was said to be the author of it and proved its best support. He improved daily in speaking, turned all the Opposition said into excellent ridicule, and always brought the House into good humour with the Ministers.

The Prince of Wales being now within few weeks of being of age, it became impossible for the King to delay any longer the settling a revenue and family for him; accordingly, on the

11*th*, the King told the Duke of Portland that he intended it. The Duke approved the intention, but indiscreetly told the King that the Ministers would take the burthen from his Majesty, and would bait liberally; they would get 100,000*l.* a year for the Prince. This was exceedingly imprudent, both in letting the King see at once their intention of gaining the Prince's affection, and in so vast a revenue, which would be double what the late Prince of Wales had had long after he had a wife and children. I believe the Ministers had gone so far because Lord Shelburne had, or it was given out, I know, had

said, in excuse for striking off many small places and pensions, that he did it towards forming an income of 100,000*l.* a year for the Prince. Had they offered less, the Prince would naturally have turned towards Lord Shelburne. The King disguised his pleasure, and, even on the

13*th*, heard the Ministers arrange their plans, for which even they summoned the House of Lords; yet, the King contradicted nothing, and the messages to be given on the 16*th* were determined; but, in the mean time, the King saw Lord Temple, who was just arrived from Ireland, in private, and, it was universally supposed, offered him the Administration, which he as readily accepted, and even sent a servant of his own, in livery, to stop the Duke of Richmond from going to France; for, on the

15*th*, when the Duke of Portland took the message that was to be delivered in writing for his approbation, the King sent him orders not to deliver it, for he had changed his mind.

The Ministers were thunderstruck, and disgusted to the utmost. The Prince was enraged, pressed them to resign, and had a fever with vexation. The Ministers knew not what to say to both Houses, to whom the intention had been notified, and where they were called upon for a solution.

On the 16*th*, the Ministers held a meeting, whence they were to go and resign their employments; but, before they separated, the Duke of Portland was summoned to the King, who, in an agony of tears, kissed the Duke, confessed he had gone too far, and begged the Duke to rescue him.

This strange weakness saved the Ministers from the embarrassing situation into which they had fallen. Charles Fox went to the Prince and prevailed on him to submit

himself entirely to his father, which, at last, he did; and the Ministers, who had thus the King in their power and the Prince in their hands, extricated themselves with great address and pleased everybody. No revenue was demanded from Parliament; the King gave 50,000*l.* a year to the Prince out of his own income, with the Duchy of Cornwall (the Prince's right), of 12,000*l.* a year more, and all that was asked of Parliament was 30,000*l.* to pay the Prince's debts, and as much to set him out. But the Prince declared he would never forgive Lord Temple.

The last sudden turn in the King's mind I believe, from the following reasons, to have been effected by the timidity of Lord Bute and the prudence of the Scotch. Andrew Stuart, one of the most shrewd of the latter, said it would be most disgraceful to change the Administration again so soon. Lord Mountstewart, who had wavered about the Embassy to Spain on the accession of the present Ministers, now declared openly that he would not go if they were to be dismissed; and Lady Betty McKenzie[1] being asked during the suspense when she was to go to Scotland, said, "We must go back to Ham first, for we left everything in disorder, *being sent for* at a minute's warning." Lord Bute was too timid to like to offend the Prince on so personal an occasion, or to be involved in a change to which he would be suspected to have contributed, and in which he was not likely to have much influence, as Lord Temple is one of the most obstinate, proud, and vain men living. Lord Thurlow, too, the late Chancellor, declared to Charles Fox his disapprobation of such a change, though that might be to disguise his share in it. He, the Lord Advocate, and Lord Weymouth were cer-

[1] Wife of Stuart M'Kenzie, brother of Lord Bute.

tainly endeavouring secretly, in concert with the King, to make another change. The Lord Advocate was, indeed, gone to Scotland, but had whispered that it would soon take place, and that Mr. W. Pitt had consented to be the Minister; but I did not believe it, for had it been intended, the Lord Advocate would not have divulged it; he rather propagated the report to stagger those who supported the present Ministers. Lord Weymouth, who, though he had warmly endeavoured the exclusion of the present Ministers, and who had pitifully and meanly stooped to stay in place with them, was daily in private with the King or Duke of Montagu, late Governor of the Prince, and who, though the most shallow of men, was the person in whom the King had most confidence, and to whom alone he ever spoke of his son, and who betrayed the King's sentiments by officiously seeking occasions to abuse the Prince.

All the above particulars I believe to be true, as I had them from very good authorities. I do not answer for the truth of the following report, but it was much asserted, that the King reproaching the Duke of Portland with their setting up his son against him, the Prince gave the King a letter he had received from the Duke, in which the latter had conjured the Prince to submit to his father, and given him the best advice; that the King was charmed, and said he did not know the Duke was so honest a man.

The miscarriage of this change certainly was a great step towards a much firmer establishment of the Administration. The King would not be in haste to risk another defeat, and his secret adherents would see, as indeed on every change all mankind did see, the little dependence they could have in his firmness or sincerity.

* * * * * *

Lord Shelburne, who had postponed his journey to Spa on the prospect of a change, could not conceal his vexation at the disappointment, the only chance he could have of emerging again. He had been at once so rascally and so ridiculous a Minister, that if the former quality did not, as it ought, the latter would prevent his being so but on some sudden emergency when a system was to be formed from any dregs and adventurers of any party.

30*th*. Mr. Pitt's Reform Bill, which had passed the House of Commons, was thrown out by the Lords, and *was a remarkable day*. Lord Temple moved for an account of fees received in offices (though he himself had suppressed his own deputy or first clerk to engross the fees). He spoke often, ill and tediously. The Duke of Portland opposed the bill firmly, though he said he knew he should be unpopular. Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough, Lord Stormont and Lord Townshend, supported him. Lord Thurlow was warmly for the bill, though he had declared he would be against it, and did own, though he pressed for its going to the committee, that he should oppose every clause of it. But the most remarkable part was, that Lord Brudenel, Lord Southampton, and others of the Court lords went away, not to support the Ministers. Lord Weymouth was absent, who had stayed in place, and had said he would support them, unless the King forbade him—which by this it appeared he had now done. Three bishops also were all that were present, and two of them, and Thurlow and Warren, voted against the Ministers. Mr. W. Pitt was thought to have gained the Chancellor, or rather had concerted the affair with the King and him.

JULY.

4th. Lord J. Cavendish's bill for reform of Exchequer places, in committee. Mr. Courtney abused Lord Temple grossly, but with much wit, for having pocketed 600*l.* a year from his under officer.

On the same bill Rigby proposed by a clause to put the Chancellor Thurlow upon the same foot with the other Tellers, as if he had taken the reversion when it was offered. He had bragged much of not taking it, and had thrown out hints as if such grants were illegal: but the reason was said to be, that he did not care to insert his son's name in the patent, whose legitimacy was doubtful. Charles Fox, whom he had lately termed a bankrupt, violently opposed the clause, as did Sheridan, and it was rejected by a majority of eight, and with great disgrace to Thurlow.

The King greatly unhappy: he told Lord Hertford that he disliked the Ministers, but would give them fair play, would play them no tricks; yet he had tried to play them one on Pitt's Reform Bill. He also said, *that every morning he wished himself eighty, or ninety, or dead.* He had long conversations frequently with Lord Stormont, whom, with Lord Mansfield, it was supposed he wished to detach from the Ministry, as he daily tried others. He told Lord North, "You have often seen me keep my temper, but now I often cannot command it."

The Lord Advocate was turned out, though he had vaunted that no man in Scotland would dare to take his post, but Charles Fox was not a man to be intimidated.

He insisted on the dismission of both Lord Thurlow and Dundas, by far the two ablest of his antagonists.

16*th*. The Parliament was at last prorogued.

21*st*. Confirmation came of the death of Hyder Ally.

The Irish Parliament was dissolved.

AUGUST.

EXPOSTULATION of Charles Fox with General Conway on not obliging him with promotions in the army, nor acquainting him and the Ministers with his measures. Conway justifies himself well.—N.B. Fox had talked to the Prince of Wales of setting Prince Frederick at the head of the army; either to flatter the Prince, or not thinking his a good life—perhaps for both reasons.

Account of Washington resigning his command and retiring. The King thought Washington retired prudently from having lost popularity with the army. The King said to a person, "I believe the Articles of the Boundaries in the Treaty were well drawn—but I never did read the Articles nor the Treaty, nor read anything about America,"—probably from disgust. He said to another person in August, "*This Ministry will not last.*"

Washington's sensible letter to the President of the Congress, with reflections on the promises to the army not performed. If he really retires, admirable character—we wait to see whether no design beneath the patronage of the army. Appearances also in his letter of different Provinces not being cordially united with the Congress.

Volunteers of Ireland consult the Duke of Richmond on Reform of Parliament.

29*th.* Mr. Fox wrote to the Lord Mayor that Definite Treaties were to be signed on the following Wednesday, September 3rd, by England, France, Spain, and America.

SEPTEMBER.

6th. DEFINITE Treaties arrived signed.

Here the entries cease; but several loose papers lie within the succeeding sheets of the last volume; the first of them, "A New Song," to the tune of "A Free and Accepted Mason," is a witty satire against Statesmen generally; but it is too coarse for insertion. The remainder will be found below.—D.

LOOSE PAPERS.

1783. JANUARY *2nd.* General Conway came to me, told me the Duke of Richmond was offended at Lord Shelburne and had a mind to resign. France had asked an island which Council would not give. Lord Shelburne had offered something in India, without East India Company's consent, but kept it from Council. Conway had dined the day before with Shelburne, Chancellor, Lord Grantham, Townshend and Pitt, and they had mentioned it. Conway taxed Townshend, who, gained by Lord Shelburne's flattery, shuffled it

off. Conway and the Parliament asked Lord Grantham, who likewise shuffled. Duke of Richmond asked Conway what he would do if he resigned. Conway said, could not determine at once: unwilling to quarrel for trifles and stop the peace. Duke talked of absenting from Council but keeping his place. Conway said that would be said to be for his place. I said, would lose himself both with Minister and Opposition. Conway thought he had a mind to reunite with Charles Fox. I said this would be breaking for less than Charles Fox had broken. Duke told Conway if he complained, Shelburne would promise better and not keep his word; then said I, Duke will have more reason to break with him. I advised Conway to try to soften Duke and to wait for more substantial reasons, and warn Shelburne against his present conduct, not to break peace, for which I begged Conway to stay, and quit with them, but not to stay alone with Shelburne after peace, or if broken off.

Shelburne telling Lord Loughborough he had had a mind to marry Lady L——, she protested he had never spoke to her.

However, I do not know whether I ought not to retract what I have been saying; and though the Tories probably will not claim the honour I am willing to allow them, I do not know whether one Tory, or, rather, one half Tory, half Jacobite Administration, have not conferred as great benefits on two countries as any Whig Administration ever procured to our own. Yet the late Administration, by their tyranny, cruelties, negligence, blunders, and incapacity, have made both America and Ireland free and independent. The alacrity of one leap over the Rubicon

gave liberty to thirteen Colonies. A pert oration at the Council table sent a Legislator to America, and the happily coined word, "Starvation," delivered a whole continent from the Northern harpies that meant to devour it; who can say the Tories never conferred benefits on mankind?

For the 'Morning Chronicle.'

ON THE KING'S COMMANDING THE TRAGEDY OF 'THE GRECIAN DAUGHTER,' ON THURSDAY THE 2ND INSTANT.—*Jan.* 10, 1783.

EPIGRAMMATIC.

"Siddons to see,—King, Lords, and Commons run,
Glad to forget that Britain is undone.
The Jesuit Shelburne, the apostate Fox,
And Bulls and Bears, together in a box.
Thurlow neglects his promises to friends;
And scribbling Townshend no more letters sends.
Cits have their feasts, and sots desert their wine;
Each youth cries, 'Charming!' and each maid, 'Divine!'
See, of false tears, a copious torrent flows,
But not one real, for their country's woes.
The club of spendthrifts, the rapacious bar
Of words, not arms, support the bloodless war.
Let Spain Gibraltar get, our islands France,
So Siddons acts, or Vestris leads the dance.
Run on, mad nation! pleasure's frantic round;
For acting, fiddling, dancing be renown'd!
Soon foreign fleets shall rule the western main;
George fill no throne but that of Drury Lane!"—MERLIN.

For the 'Public Advertiser.'

AN ODE TO THE PREMIER.

"Great Lord, who rul'st the loaves and fishes,
A bard whose board ne'er smoked with dishes,
Though craving is his maw,
Will, to attract thy look benign,
If thou'lt enable him to dine,
Thy genuine portrait draw.

"Where shall I, then, begin,—where end?
But, as I wish to be your friend,
Your lineage first I'll trace.
Pray, then, which would you choose to be,
Since double is your fam'ly tree,—
Of *Teague* or *Saxon* race?

"Shall I to *Maurice* quite go back,
Who, *Scotchman-like*, erst bore a pack,
A *merchant* in those days?
Or, as I mean not here to fret ye,
Shall I commence with Surgeon Petty,
Well vers'd in land-surveys?

"But from whatever source you spring,
You 're now the favourite of our K—g,
Yet owe to Bute this meed:
'Blest he who in his younger days
Shall strive to steer aright his ways;
He must at last succeed.'

"Great Bute, with aspect dark but mild,
Oft o'er your growing *virtues* smil'd,
And prais'd your *art* and *wit*;
When you, your first essay to try,
Employ'd your champion with one eye,
To throw his dirt on Pitt.

"When you, a boy both sleek and round,
Were to old Fox apprentice bound
To learn State pettyfogging,
You play'd him such a slipp'ry trick,
I heard him swear, by Father *Nick*,
That you deserv'd a flogging.

"Your great exploits, in order long,
And fair succession, court my song,
In strains that all might please;
But may this hand commit a murther,
If I advance one stanza further,
Until I 'm paid for these."

THE END.

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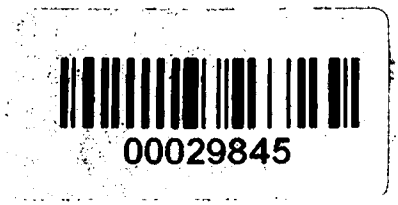
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